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THE FUNCTIONS OF WAMPUM AMONG THE EASTERN ALGONKIAN

BY

FRANK G. SPECK

THE FUNCTIONS OF WAMPUM AMONG THE EASTERN ALGONKIAN

By FRANK G. SPECK

Introduction

THE subject of wampum has been given considerable attention by ethnologists and historians at large, but as yet there remain unanswered several of the most important questions concerning its original manufacture, its geographical provenience during different periods, and the functions it served in particular regions and historical epochs. The gathering incubus of evidence seems to promise no immediate cessation of increase, for every year or so sees the publication of another paper or two attempting to prove either that the Indians could or could not make the so-called council wampum or tubular beads before they obtained metal tools from Europeans. Its beginning has been variously accredited to the Iroquois, the New England Algonkian, and the Dutch by different recent authors more or less seriously,[1] while early authors too seem to have promulgated different opinions on the same point.

[1] The authorities who do not regard the tubular wampum as of aboriginal manufacture include Dr. W. H. Holmes, *Second Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1883, p. 245; L. H. Morgan, *Fifth Annual Report New York State Cabinet of Natural History*, p. 71. Also, in very decisive terms, Lafitau, *Moeurs des Sauvages Américains* (1724), tom II, f. 502–503 and 506–507, and W. M. Beauchamp, Wampum and Shell Articles Used by the New York Indians, *Bulletin 41, New York State Museum*, 1901, pp. 327–329. Others mention its absence before the time of contact with Europeans. Cf. Loskiel, *Mission of the United Brethren*, Latrobe translation, p. 34. Improvement in the industry, resulting in the production of the tubular beads after the coming of the white people (after 1640), is mentioned. Also D. G. Brinton, "Notes on the Criteria of Wampum," *Bulletin No. 4, Free Museum of Science and Art*, University of Pennsylvania, 1898, p. 177, and E. B. Tylor, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, February, 1897, p. 248. Ruttenber speaks of Hackensack, N. J., as the principal place of manufacture. The method of manufacture among the Dutch of Bergen Co., N. J., is dealt with in detail by Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections of New Jersey*, 1840, while more recent studies are, I understand, in course of preparation by Mr. W. C. Orchard.

We are in short not permitted by the nature of the available evidence to make well-defined statements regarding the early status of either the manufacture or even the use of wampum, except in a few respects to point out the boundaries of distribution at different periods and to specify its functions in certain areas. Drawing conclusions as far as we may from published ethnological, historical, and archaeological sources the material divides itself objectively into two chronological periods in approximate correspondence with two types of wampum material. The former of these is a prehistoric period during which the type of bead known as the disc wampum was almost universal in its distribution over the eastern part of the continent if not all over it. This is the common wampum of archaeological sites occurring abundantly in the Iroquoian and Algonkian regions where the later material of the type to be mentioned next became so prominent. The second period seems to embrace the historic and the period preceding it during which the older disc wampum was replaced apparently by the smaller and finer cylindrical or tubular beads. These came into extensive use for ceremonial purposes in the east, primarily among the Iroquois, secondarily among the neighboring Algonkian.

Dr. Holmes, however, commits himself (*op. cit.*, p. 236) to the opinion that "the methods of manufacture of wampum were aboriginal . . . that the art was not of European introduction," by which he undoubtedly refers to the disc wampum, not to the finer tubular beads, since he qualifies himself (p. 226) by a more definite statement.

J. N. B. Hewitt, in the article on Wampum, *Handbook of the American Indians*, Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. 2, pp. 905–909, does not indulge in any speculation as to the chronology of wampum or its elementary functions or forms. Horatio Hale, in an interesting article in "Four Huron Wampum Belts," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 26 (1896), pp. 234–235, also discusses the supposed Indian origin of wampum in the positive sense, relying, however, entirely on the older authorities. He, like the others, does not specify which type of wampum beads he has in mind.

D. I. Bushnell, Jr. (cf. "The Origin of Wampum," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 36 (1906), p. 172), also believes that wampum originated with the Indians, if by wampum is meant all shell beads. He refers to a belt of tubular beads in the Museum Tradescantianum dated 1656. Again he says (p. 177) "it is evident that as late as the year 1700 the Indians of New England were making wampum in the primitive fashion, perforating the small pieces of shell by means of a stone pointed drill." This doubtful conclusion is based on the testimony of a specimen in the Sloane Collection, British Museum, bearing the date 1702, and a record from the old catalogue of the collection asserting that the holes were drilled with a sharp flint.

The technology of wampum so far as the Indians of early times are concerned, has remained so much of a mystery that the subject does not demand treatment in a paper which pretends to limit itself to local and functional phenomena.[1] It is very probable that the northeastern Algonkian did not themselves manufacture the beads which they came to employ in their political life in historic times[2] for we know that the bulk of those used even by the Iroquois were of Dutch and southern New England make. The Iroquois were the agents of conveyance of both material and ceremony to the tribes eastward, hence it may be judged to what extent the actual beads were diffused along the paths of culture transmission.

The Terminology of Wampum

The synonyms for wampum in the Wabanaki dialects are, Penobscot, *wąˑbąˈbiˑ*, (plural *wąˑbąˈbiˑakˤ*) "white string," *kaˤkąˈbəs*, "old dark string" denoting the blue beads; St. Francis Abenaki and Wawenock, *wɔˑbąbiˑˈ* (plural[3] *wɔˑbąbiˑaˈk*), and *səgąbiˑˈ*, "dark-string"; Malecite and Passamaquoddy, *woˑbaˈpˤ* (plural *woˑbaˈpiˑyik*), denoting both the white and the blue beads; Micmac of Bear river, Nova Scotia, *wabeˑˈk* (plural *wabeˑˈgəl*); Micmac of Cape Breton, *eləna'pskuk*, "man's (Indian's) stones." These are the common generic terms. This terminology ranges through different

[1] As to the Penobscot tradition of its manufacture and use Joseph Nicolar, a native writer, *The Red Man*, Bangor, 1896, makes a surmise on his own account. "Wampum is made from the different colored seashells which are now extinct. The parts of the shell cut out fit for use are rubbed on some gritty stone to shape them. Then the awl is used to make the holes. The making of the holes was the slowest part of the work; therefore, when it was made it was considered valuable" (p. 145).

[2] See references in footnote on p. 3 *et seq.* following for documentary confirmation of this deduction.

[3] These terms have given rise to Canadian-French *wampum*. The southern New England *wampum*(p), (Natick, Cf. Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, *Bulletin 25, Bureau of American Ethnology*), Mohegan and Narragansett, *wɑmpɑmpˤ*, *wampam* (plural *wampumpeag wɑmpɑmpiˑˈg*), white wampum (suckauhock, dark wampum) are the source of derivation of English *wampum*. The first stem of the term (*wɔ̨b-*, *wab-*, "white") is a familiar Algonkian property. The character of the second element (*-ąbi'*, *-apˤ*, "length, string") further appears in the following, (Pen.) *wuskwąˑˈbi*. "pack strap," *kwudˈɑŋgánˈąbi* "throat string, jugular"; (Mal.) *wuskwapˤ* "pack strap," *agɑmapˤ* "snowshoe string," *maksɑnapˤ* "moccasin string;" (Mic). *ababe* "rope."

applications. The terms given all refer strictly to the true wampum except among the Micmac who apply the term to large beads of any sort. In Malecite *ka''kabəs* "old dark string" does not have the restrictive significance that it does in Penobscot. It denotes glass beads as well.[1] The philological indications here point to a certain use of the term *wɔ'bɑb'*, which definitely specifies the white beads, as a general appellative for all shapes and colors of wampum. Everyone by this time, however, knows how unsafe is the practice of drawing historical conclusions from linguistic evidence,[2] and yet the feeling that white beads may at some early period have been the prevalent type is permissible upon surveying the terms. This suspicion is confirmed by the archaeological findings in eastern America which expose the general prevalence of white discoidal beads over those of the tubular or cylindrical type[3] in the older sites. The white material is, moreover, softer and hence could have been more easily drilled by the Indians who, I believe with the others, were not capable of drilling the finer tubular beads until they had acquired metal drills from the Europeans. This threefold circumstantiality is not to be lightly discounted. It seems to reinforce a certain likelihood that the original beads were the white disc-shaped ones.

The plurals of the terms are interesting. We have here a case of inconsistency which is fairly common in Algonkian, that inanimate objects are given the plural suffix (*-ak*, *-ɑk*, *-ik*) which properly belongs to nouns in the animate. This is true of Penobscot,

[1] A more common name for the latter is *wenotcwa'pskizɑl* "white man's stones (diminutive)." In Penobscot the very peculiar term *mɑza'bi'zɑl* "vulva strings" (diminutive) is the designation for the manufactured glass beads.

[2] One might even make the deduction that the original beads were made of stones, judging from certain of the terms. Early observers also fell into a similar error in identification. Cf. Rasles in *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites edition), vol. 67, p. 165. "The Illinois wear collars and earrings made of little stones; some are blue, some red, and some white as alabaster; to these must be added a flat piece of porcelain which finishes the collar." The original reads for the last statement "une plaque de porcelaine qui termine le collier" which may better be rendered "which terminates the collar," an equivalent more intelligible in view of the probability that the large so-called shell "moon" or gorget is meant here, an article fairly common among the Central Algonkian. Rasles betrays his uncertainty in another letter (*op. cit.*, p. 137).

[3] See p. 16.

Abenaki, Malecite, and Passamaquoddy only as applied to true wampum; the term for common beads taking the inanimate plural form (see footnote 2, preceding page). In Micmac we note adherence to the proper grammatical category. An explanation of this usage, according to Brinton's animistic way of looking at things, might be sought for in an assumed tendency towards the personification of sacred objects. This, however, strikes me as being altogether too rationalistic for the native mind, for on this very point I discussed the animate and inanimate plural categories with several intelligent interpreters without discovering that they had any objective knowledge of the principles underlying the use of the plural elements. The Indians seem to be quite unconscious of any grammatical incongruity in this case.

Wampum in Northeastern Mythology

Neither in the present nor in the past so far as we may conclude from the evidence of mythology has wampum figured in the life of the Cree and Montagnais in the region north of the St. Lawrence. It is not mentioned in the mythology of the Cree or Montagnais or in their modern ethnology. Even among the Ojibwa, whose ceremonial organization has developed more complexity than is the case with the tribes of similar culture further east, we have relatively few citations referring to its use in historic times. Such instances seem to show that wampum was employed almost exclusively in ceremonials concerned with, or derived from the Iroquois.[1]

Wampum, however, is perfectly at home in the mythology of the tribes south of the St. Lawrence. Wabanaki mythology abounds in references to the substance, so much and in such a dramatic light generally that one would be apt to give it its proper place in eastern culture merely from knowing of it through this channel. The following passages quoted from sections of Penob-

[1] Cf. Rev. Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, London, 1861, p. 119 and 121. The Ottawa used wampum similarly, cf. Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, Boston, 1883, Vol. II, p. 65. Also *Jesuit Relations* (1716–27) (Thwaites edition), vol. 67, p. 157, 187. "Colliers de porcelaine" are here designated by Rasles. The term is still in use throughout French Canada, among both whites and Indians using French, to denote wampum belts.

scot text material recorded by the writer through Newell Lyon and still unpublished, will convey some idea of the matter.

In a tale relating the adventures of the hero, an abused orphan, he owns a bird which has the power to throw off wampum from its plumage when it shakes itself. In the words of the text,

> The next morning the bird made an outcry. Soon white wampum came rattling down. Again the following morning, then dark wampum came rattling down.

This bird was also prophetical. It caused white wampum to fall when good news was imminent, dark to fall to announce bad news.

Another mythical personage, *Geso''set*, who is transported by the wind to a palisaded village inhabited by mysterious folk clad in white rabbit-skin clothes, sees quantities of wampum in the chief's lodge. Everything in this tale depicts very ancient culture conditions, as is shown by the fact that the island referred to is conceived of as the realm of departed souls.

In another important tale the text describes how the hero *Gesi''łat*, engages in a wrestling contest with a giant whose clothes are of wampum.[1] The account is rather graphic.

> All at once he met a manly, good looking man, and finely clothed. All his clothes were made of wampum. He said to him (*Gesi''łat*) "Let us wrestle. Now if you throw me then we shall exchange our clothes." He replied, "*Nehe''* let's wrestle." Then he threw the man and won his clothes. They changed clothes. Then in the evening when he came home his sister said to him: "How did you get such nice clothes?" He said "I won them. I have wrestled with a man whom I met. He wanted me to wrestle, saying to me, 'If you throw me we shall trade clothes!' Then I threw him and I won his clothes." The next morning again he met another one. Dark wampum material were his clothes and he then wanted to wrestle. He threw him too and won his clothes.

In the mythology of the Wawenock, one of the minor Wabanaki tribes formerly of the coast of Maine but now at Becancour, P. Q., an interesting account of the origin of wampum was recorded by the writer. A literal translation from the original is given; part of a small collection of texts obtained from François Neptune.

[1] For further mention of wampum articles of clothing see p. 19 *et seq.*

How Sorcerers Originated Wampum.[1]

Accordingly, whenever a council was held, sorcerers were there. And according to the strength of their power, it could be known which were the most powerful. After the council was finished they lighted pipes, and they all smoked. Then the greatest sorcerer among them, every time he would light his pipe, would cause wampum to fall from his mouth, the most powerful producing white, he of middling power, his wampum was half white and half reddish, and the least powerful sorcerer, his wampum was almost black. (Some old woman would come and catch it in her lap when it fell from the sorcerers' mouths.) So then among these sorcerers he would be the winner who among them would have produced the most wampum when he smoked his pipe. Accordingly, whenever two nations wanted to make a treaty they gave wampum as a payment, the beads worked into a belt with two hands embroidered on it, meaning that they had agreed to wage no more war and that forever they would never hunt one another again. And that is all.

References to the beads occur in the mythologies of all the Wabanaki tribes where a fictitious origin is almost always ascribed to the material despite the fact that the Indians really know that it was a hand manufactured product. A purely material origin association seems not sufficient in the mind of the native to account for the precious beads, he must resort to a pseudo-origin in mythology. In the tales just referred to any of the episodes might be regarded as explanatory of origin so far as the informant's feelings go. The mere factual historical circumstances are merely secondary in the native mind, at least this is so among the older conservative folk.[2]

A comparison with Iroquois wampum lore is interesting as regards this point. It shows that in this respect the Iroquois, too, were satisfied to entertain concepts of a mythical origin for wampum in spite of their real knowledge of its technical qualities. Such a correspondence in Iroquoian and eastern Algonkian folk-psychology

[1] This tale is evidently related in origin to part of an Iroquois myth recorded by Mrs. E. A. Smith, The Charmed Suit, Myths of the Iroquois, *Second Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1880–1, p. 95. In the story a hero produces wampum from his spittle, which is gathered in a deer skin.

[2] References to wampum making are not totally lacking in the mythology of the region as the following will show. S. T. Rand (*Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 103) records in a myth of Invisible Boy, that wampum was manufactured in former times out of certain small beautiful variegated shells.

tends to confirm an idea of derivation which will be brought out later in this paper.

For the purpose of establishing the truth of the supposed correspondence it might be well to cite some of the instances illustrating mythological origin concept among the Iroquois.[1]

Among them the origin of wampum seems to have been contemporaneous with the inception of the Iroquois League. In a myth recorded by Mrs. E. A. Smith[2] there is an obscure connection between the wampum bird and Hiawatha, the founder. The tale relates how the bird was discovered in the woods. The head chief offered his daughter to any one who would take the bird dead or alive. The bird was pursued. Whenever it was hit with an arrow a shower of wampum would fly from its feathers, but no one could bring it down. At last a boy from an unfriendly tribe came to try. The warriors tried to prevent him but the chief insured him of an opportunity to try his bow and arrow. The bird was brought to the ground and its plumage became the possession of the people. The boy was then married to the chief's daughter and peace was secured between the two nations, the boy decreeing that thereafter wampum should become the bringer and binder of peace. Another version states that Hiawatha, while on his way to visit the Mohawk to lay the foundation of the League, saw a flock of ducks alight on the surface of a lake. When they flew away the lake was dry and the bottom was filled with shells. Out of these the chief constructed the wampum belts which were to be used in the ceremonials of the new confederacy.[3]

Still another Iroquois account is recorded by Cusick, an Onondaga, who relates how Hiawatha in his effort to stop civil strife among the Iroquois went first to the Mohawk. On the way he beheld an old man sitting near a fire stringing short eagle quills. This old man instructed Hiawatha in the use of the quills as a means of recording his ideas and the hero adopted the practice in sub-

[1] The ensuing section is a repetition of material presented by the writer in a paper read before the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia.

[2] Mrs. E. A. Smith, Myths of the Iroquois, *Second Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1880–1, pp. 78–79.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

sequent dealings in council. The eagle from which the quills were obtained was said to be a black eagle, a bird of mythology. Hiawatha, it seems, acquired power to call the bird down to him at will.[1]

Another Iroquois story has been published by A. C. Parker[2] in which Da-ga-no-we-da is credited with having discovered the original wampum beads during a journey which he was making across a lake.

> He noticed quantities of minute purple and white shells adhering to the paddle of his canoe. As he neared the shore he discovered them heaped in long rows upon the bank. These suggested to his constructive mind a pictorial representation of his thought of confederating the divided nations by compact of mutual support and protection. He filled his traveling pouches with a quantity of the shells and, in the frequent rests of his journey, strung them on threads shred from the sinews of the deer, and, hanging them string by string, eventually completed the first wampum belt.

A short account of how the beads originated, conceptually similar in one respect to that just given, is furnished by the Huron of Lorette.[3]

> Once a sorcerer who had been harming the people through his evil art was opposed and overcome by one of the early missionary priests who lived among the Huron. His body was taken to a pond in the forest and thrown in. Later it was discovered that the corpse was covered with little white excrescences which turned out to be the white wampum beads. (They were supposed to have been formed by the concretion of magic matter expelled from the body by defeat and death.)

Comparing the cognate features of the foregoing myths as they stand out in the literature of the Iroquois and Algonkian, one can hardly fail to notice that the Iroquois seem not only to have lent the ceremonial uses of the wampum strings and belts to their less

[1] Quoted by W. M. Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

[2] A. C. Parker, "Myths and Legends of the New York State Iroquois," *Bulletin New York State Museum* (1908), no. 125, pp. 139–140.

[3] Narrated by the wife of Chief Maurice Bastien at Lorette, P. Q., in 1914. C. M. Barbeau in his exhaustive study Huron and Wyandot Mythology No. 11, *Anthropological Series, Geological Survey, Canada* (1915), speaks of Chief Bastien as an informant, p. xii, though he seems to have overlooked this particular tale.

Cartier (cf. Hakluyt's Voyages, 1535) wrote of the natives of Hochelaga securing material for making beads by throwing a slashed body into the river for the cuts to accumulate the *esurgny*, of which the beads were made.

advanced Algonkian neighbors, but to have exerted a didactic influence upon their traditions.

In the early mention of wampum these rather frequent allusions to quills from a bird and to shell beads obtained magically from the plumage of a bird in mythology, have impressed students from time to time with the idea that the original use of wampum beads may have developed from the use of sections of bird quills. There is, besides, some ground for a shell origin theory, that is that the original wampum beads were small entire sea shells, if one wishes to regard certain mythical references as being of enough importance to be used for historical purposes.[1] The discussion of this problem however is not demanded in this paper so the mere suggestion will be left.

I should now like to turn to a matter which is made somewhat emphatic in this study, namely, the conclusion that not only much of the function and ritual of wampum has been borrowed by the Wabanaki from the Iroquois, but mythology in connection with wampum as well. An almost convincing case of this is afforded by the following series of Iroquoian and Penobscot myths concerning the "wampum bird."

Mention has just been briefly made of this correspondence in eastern literature, but since the case seems to yield a rather definite impression as to culture relationships in the two areas, I should like to place the evidence before the reader. The following is the Iroquois version of the wampum bird tale as recorded by Mrs. E. A. Smith.

ORIGIN OF WAMPUM[2]

(Iroquois)

A man while walking in a forest saw an unusually large bird covered with a heavily clustered coating of wampum. He immediately informed his people and

[1] See quotations from early authors on page 11. L. H. Morgan, *Fifth Annual Report N. Y. Cabinet of Natural History*, entertained this opinion. He says (*op. cit.*, p. 73) "the primitive wàmpum of the Iroquois consisted of strings of a small freshwater spiral shell called in Seneca, *oteko-a'*, the name of which has been bestowed upon the modern wampum."

Wampum articles of the Iroquois actually show a shell or two of this description in their construction. An Iroquois wampum belt in the Victoria Museum, Ottawa, collected by the writer, contains a single shell in one of the white figures.

[2] E. A. Smith, Myths of the Iroquois, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–79.

chiefs, whereupon the head chief offered as a prize his beautiful daughter to one who would capture the bird, dead or alive, which apparently had come from another world. Whereupon the warriors, with bows and arrows, went to the "tree of promise," and as each lucky one barely hit the bird it would throw off a large quantity of the coveted coating, which, like the Lernaean hydra's heads, multiplied by being cropped. At last, when the warriors were despairing of success, a little boy from a neighboring tribe came to satisfy his curiosity by seeing the wonderful bird of which he had heard, but as his people were at war with this tribe he was not permitted by the warriors to try his skill at archery, and was even threatened with death. But the head chief said, "He is a mere boy; let him shoot on equal terms with you who are brave and fearless warriors." His decision being final, the boy, with unequaled skill, brought the coveted bird to the ground.

Having received the daughter of the head chief in marriage, he divided the oh-ko-äh between his own tribe and that into which he had married, and peace was declared between them. Then the boy husband decreed that the wampum should be the price of peace and blood, which was adopted by all nations. Hence arose the custom of giving belts of wampum to satisfy violated honor, hospitality, or national prestige.

The Wampum Bird[1]

(Wyandot)

The villages of the Wyandots stood about a beautiful lake. One day a maiden went from the village to a marsh to get some cranberries. When she came to the marsh where the cranberries were growing she saw a great bird, half a tree tall, fierce and of frightful mien. This bird was feeding upon the cranberries of the marsh, and seemed incapable of rising to fly away.

The maiden was greatly frightened at what she believed to be a hookkeh bird. She ran to the village and told the chief about the strange bird she had seen in the cranberry bush. The Wolf sounded the great shell and the council was immediately assembled. Fear was in all the village.

The council caused medicine to be made. It was found that this fierce bird in the marsh where the cranberries grew was the wampum bird, the first of its kind ever seen in this lower world. It was determined that the bird must be killed and the wampum obtained.

All the warriors went with the chief to slay the wampum bird. It was devouring the cranberries. So desperate and fierce was it that the warriors could not approach it with their clubs. The chief said to the warriors: "He that kills the wampum bird with an arrow shall have my daughter to wife."

The maiden, the chief's daughter, was much desired by the warriors. They shot their arrows at the wampum bird. When an arrow struck the wampum bird it stood up its full height and shook off all the wampum with which it was covered.

[1] From W. E. Connelley, "The Wyandots," *Ontario Archeological Report*, Toronto, 1899–1900, pp. 122–123, quoted by Barbeau, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

This precious substance fell in showers like rain all about the warriors. In an instant the bird was again covered with wampum which was its only plumage. The purple wampum covered its wings; on the remainder of its body was the white wampum.

Not a bow shot by the warriors could kill the wampum bird. While they were shooting, a youth came through the woods to where they stood. He was of a strange people. The warriors wished to kill and scalp him. The chief permitted him to shoot at the wampum bird. He cut a slender willow from the marsh. From this he fashioned an arrow which he shot. None of the warriors saw the arrow leave the bow of the young man, nor did they see it strike, but the wampum bird was dead in an instant. The arrow was found piercing its head through the eyes. The Wyandots secured more wampum than could be placed in the largest lodge in the village.

The warriors carried the youth to their village. They still wished to kill and scalp him, for they had not been able to kill the wampum bird. The chief said to the young man: "My son tell me from whence you came." He replied that he was a Delaware. He said his people lived in a village which was not far away.

The council sent the young man to bring his people to a great council which it appointed. At this great council the Wyandots recognized the Delawares as their nephews. A treaty was made which has not been broken to this day. The young man was given to the Wyandots and by them adopted. He was given the wife he earned by killing the wampum bird.

This treaty was confirmed between the parties to it by giving back and forth strings of the wampum secured from the wampum bird slain by the young man. Since that day no treaty has been concluded by them without the passing of the wampum belt.

The Wyandots and their nephews the Delawares, lived side by side a long time. Then they came from the north land to live on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

THE CANNIBAL SORCERESS[1]

(Penobscot Text)

A boy lost to his parents and who lives with his impostor sister, who is a cannibal, is warned by a rabbit to leave her before she eats him. He seeks flight, and is pursued by the woman. He reaches a river, and by flattering the heron is enabled to cross on heron's leg. The pursuer reaches the river, insults the heron and is precipitated into the water. The boy reaches porcupine's cave, flatters him and is admitted. After reviving, the cannibal woman comes to the cave, insults porcupine, and is pierced by his quills. The boy finally reaches his grandfather's camp, and is recognized by his monster dog. He recovers his pet bird, who is able to cause white wampum to fall one day and dark wampum the next. When the cannibal woman arrives, the monster dog tears her to pieces.

[1] Narrated by Newell Lyon. Abstract of translation of part of the text.

The next morning the magic bird made an outcry and soon white wampum came rattling down and on the next he made an outcry and caused dark wampum to come rattling down. Then the old man said, "Now you must take good care of your bird, lest it be stolen." Sure enough, the next morning a strange man came and packed the bird upon his shoulder, and as soon as he had gone the old man said to his grandson, "Now do hasten, do be quick. That man is very swift." Then the boy rose and followed him to where there was an open place where he could see the man but the man could not see him.

At last he could almost see the man's wigwam. And he tried all his might running to overtake him before he reached the wigwam. When he came up with the man he seized his bird and brought it back to his own wigwam and hung it up.

"Now," said the old man to his grandson, "another man will surely come and take away your bird. You must be close behind and have very strong magic."

Sure enough, the next morning another man came and took the bird on his back and when he jumped up to go, the boy jumped up and ran after him with all his might. He ran so fast that no one could see him. Hurrying as fast as he could at last he saw him going and soon overtook him too. When he was very close to the man's wigwam, the boy snatched the bird again.

"Now," said the old man to his grandson, "you have, indeed, done very well. You are a great magician. But one still more powerful than even that magic woman, another woman there is. If you take her you will be able to save your bird."

Sure enough, the next morning the woman came in and soon she, too, put the bird on her shoulders and jumped up. And the boy running, chased her to an open place where he could hardly see her.

At last he saw a wing lying on the ground and after while saw another wing lying on the ground, and soon he saw a camp, but nowheres beheld the woman. Then he beheld a bundle. It was his bird with its head cut off. He had lost his bird and he grieved very deeply.

Said the old man to his grandson, "You can't help it; a greater magician than you was that woman; she was a very strong magician. Now, we will move from here to where your father and mother are." So the next morning they moved. For seven days they traveled to reach the village. When they arrived they told their story,—how they had overcome the evil spirit woman, and when the people saw that the boy who had been stolen was still alive, Lo, there was great rejoicing and feasting.

The tale just discussed, as well as the short one given on page 9 of this section are both simpler than the Iroquois versions to which they are partially analogous. So in conformity with the usual manner of viewing such resemblances, it would seem that the several Wabanaki themes are literary deflections from the more complex region adjoining, whence the wampum ceremonies have also probably emanated.

The Older Discoidal Beads and the Historic Cylindrical Wampum

The fact that the generic term for wampum in the different Wabanaki dialects is regularly a term denoting "white string" presses upon us the conviction that the original material was of the white sort. All through the east are found in archaeological sites flat discoidal beads several times as thick but only about half as long as the cylindrical beads which are used in later times.[1] These discoidal beads have the same designation among the natives as the others. They appear to have been made in white only, though allowance should be made for the fact that they are found under such conditions in the ground that partial disintegration might account for a possible loss of color texture.

Our knowledge of these beads is solely objective. We do not, in fact, know whether they were used ceremonially in ways similar to those in which the cylindrical ones served, but if the references to wampum manufacture and usage in prehistoric times do refer to the flat disc-shaped beads, then, of course, they probably functioned like the cylindrical beads in some of the various ceremonial capacities with which we have become familiar. In such a case, however, the form of the wampum must have necessitated its use in strings, on account of technical limitations, for woven belts and collars would, I believe, have been practicable only with beads of the cylindrical sort.

The discoidal beads were naturally much more easily drilled. They are on the whole not to be compared in technique with the cylindrical beads.[2] Larger, longer, coarse beads of ivory and some of bone have been collected from the Micmac who call them by the same name as that which they employ for the ordinary wampum.

[1] Specimens of this type of wampum in strings, used for ceremonial purposes in conjunction with the tubular form, are extant from the Delaware (cf. *New York State Museum Bulletin* 121 (1907), pl. 24, fig. 1). This is evidently the specimen figured by Beauchamp (*op. cit.*, pl. 19, fig. 233) and discussed by him (*op. cit.*, p. 365) representing the most ancient type of beads. Another is from the Tutelo of the Six Nations in the collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, also cf. *New York State Museum Bulletin* 121, p. 109, also pl. 49).

[2] Dimensions are, length in direction of the perforation, 1.5 to 3 mm., thickness, 6 to 12 mm.

Specimens of the discoidal beads are on record from a number of localities in the area under discussion in this paper.[1] Figure 7*d*, shows some beads from a string of about 500 found in a burial on Swan island, Maine, now in the possession of a collector in Bar Harbor. Others quite similar are from a grave at Popham beach near the mouth of the Kennebec river. They appeared to form part of a necklace, judging by their position near the body. Some specimens from this find are much larger in diameter than those figured.

The familiar wampum which has become associated, in the mind of the historian and ethnologist, with Indian ceremony and to a certain extent with commercial negotiations in the east, is cylindrical or tubular in form. The perforation runs through the greater length of the bead. As is more or less well known now from numerous works dealing with the supposed processes of manufacture, the beads of this type were made, not only by the coastal tribes of southern New England, but also later by the white colonists, particularly those of New Netherlands. These beads which are often delicate in form occur in pure white and in all the different shades of color from streaked blue to a dense blue-black. The bulk of the material, however, is either white, or nearly so, and dark blue or very close to it. Accordingly we need only speak, so far as we are concerned with the functional aspect of the subject, of the two general classes of color, the light or white and the dark or blue. A series of measurements of examples of these beads will answer for their further description[2].

The material of this type is not so common in archaeological sites, and since it seems to have been exclusively used in some of its varied functions among nearly all the eastern tribes it looks

[1] "They are also found sparingly throughout the Iroquoian area in archaeological sites antedating, according to Beauchamp, the "pictograph wampum." (Cf. Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, pp. 365–8, and Plates 2 and 17.)

[2] Average dimensions of tubular beads. Small: length, in direction of perforation, 4 to 7 mm., thickness 2 to 3 mm. Large: length 10 to 17 mm., thickness 4 to 5 mm. The larger beads are regarded as being of more recent manufacture by the Dutch of New Jersey. As late as 1900 they were made by hand by one of the natives of Bergen Co., N. J.

plausible to suggest that it superseded the supposedly older form of bead and became the medium of development for art and certain political ceremonies and negotiations.

Unlike the coarser flat beads these were adapted to the purposes they served, their shape making it possible for them to be woven into the various strips in which form, as "belts," we find them serving during historic times.

The earliest notice of wampum material among the natives of the northeast, and an interesting one too, is that of Nicholas Denys who wrote in 1672 as follows:

> This wampum (porcelene) is nothing else than the teeth of a certain fish which is caught by the Indians of New England, and which was really rare among them. In those times it was valued greatly among them though it is common at present. Each grain is the length of half the width of a finger. It was all their ornament in every kind of work in which it was necessary to use the needle.[1]

The cylindrical wampum is distinctly indicated in this reference.

The Use of Wampum as an Ornament in the Northeast

If we may judge by the frequent allusions in old accounts to the use of wampum as a means of ornamentation, it would seem that in such an esthetic capacity wampum may have seen its first service. In the region to which we are paying attention now archaeological disclosures seem to indicate the same thing, for the wampum beads found commonly from the coast of Maine southward and reported upon by archaeological excavators (Information, C. C. Willoughby, Collections in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University) were all employed ostensibly in ornamentation. Moreover, where wampum beads are still kept and used among the New England tribes they are serving their last use as ornaments, evidently by a process of

[1] Nicholas Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America* (Acadia), Paris, 1672, edition of the Champlain Society, Toronto, 1908, by W. F. Ganong, p. 414. Dr. Ganong also refers to an article in connection with this statement, "An Account of Wampum in Acadie," *Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick*, No. VII, 1889. He refers, moreover, to a remark in Lescarbot saying that the Acadian Indians obtained wampum from those of New England. See also Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, VIII, p. 312.

Another writer, Thomas Morton, *Description of New England*, 1630, quoted by Holmes (*op. cit.*, p. 236) asserted that wampum was made of the shells of fish.

reversion in these days of decline in art, having come back to what was presumably their original use.

Beauchamp calls[1] attention to a passage in Bradford's *History of the Plymouth Plantation*[2] which definitely speaks of the introduction of wampum in barter among the Indians of the Kennebec (Abenaki) after 1628. The passage of most importance in this citation is the following.

> And it was strange to see the great alteration it made in a few years among ye Indeans themselves; for all the Indeans of these parts, and ye Massachusetts, had none or very little of it; but ye sachems and some spetiall persons that wore a little of it for ornaments.

Beauchamp[3] further quotes several of the Jesuit Relations (1638–32–36) giving notice of the use of wampum as a means of ornamentation among the Huron in the form of collars, necklaces, bracelets, ear pendants, and hair ornaments. Especially noteworthy, since it corresponds to a form of wampum ornament known specifically to the Penobscot, is one reference to Bruyas in particular.[4] He mentions "*onniatsara*, porcelain," which the women attached to their hair, which hangs back of their head. Beauchamp[5] quotes a French source in 1639 which observes that the Canadian Algonquin women

> wear their hair in a knot at the back of their head in the form of a truss, which they ornament with porcelain when they have any.

Montanus[6] described the women of New Netherlands as wearing a petticoat richly ornamented with wampum. They also bound their hair behind in a plait over which was drawn a cap thickly interwoven with wampum. They decorated the forehead with ornaments of the same stuff, and around the neck, arms, and waist

[1] W. M. Beauchamp, "Wampum and Shell Articles Used by the New York Indians, *Bulletin New York State Museum*, no. 41, vol. 8 (1901), p. 355.

[2] *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 1856, series 4, pp. 234–235.

[3] Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, pp. 356–361.

[4] Jacques Bruyas. *Radices Verborum Iroquaeorum*. J. G. Shea, N. Y., 1863. appendix E. 16th Annual Report N. Y. State Museum Albany, 1863, p. 75.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 358.

[6] Arnoldus Montanus. Description of New Netherlands. *Documentary History of the State of New York*, 4: 75–83. Quoted by Beauchamp, p. 359.

they wore bracelets of wampum. Rasles (1723) speaking of wampum wrote[1].

It is with these strings of beads that our Savages tie and braid their hair above the ears and behind.

These several references to the women's hair binders at the back of the neck evidently refer to some trapezoid-like woven wampum strips which are to be found in certain collections (Collection of Mr. George G. Heye, one is in the possession of the writer (fig. 2*c*) and some are figured by Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, plate 12) which have been conjecturally described as cuffs. I shall return to this particular ornament later (see page 29).

Roger Williams, dealing with the subject of Narragansett wampum[2], speaks of the manufacture of wampum, mentioning how the Indians drilled wampum with stone tools and polished the beads with stones. He goes on to speak of the use of wampum in ornamentation.

They hang theſe strings of money about their necks and wriſts; as alſo upon the necks and wriſts of their wives and children. Máchequoce. A Girdle: Which they make curiouſly of one, two, three, foure, or five inches thickneſſe and more, of this money which (ſometimes to the value of ten pounds or more) they weare about their middle and as a ſcarfe about the shoulders and breaſts.

Yea the Princes make rich Caps and Aprons (or ſmall breeches) of theſe beads thus curiouſly ſtrung into many formes and figures: their blacke and white finely mixt to-gether.[3]

Father Rasles[4] in 1723 wrote in definite terms of the importance of wampum in personal adornment among the Wabanaki of his mission at Norridgewock.

If you wish to see him in fine array you will find his only ornaments to be what are called 'rassades'; these are a sort of shell work or sometimes of stone fashioned in the form of small beads some white some black which are strung in such a way that they represent different and very exact figures which have their own charm. It is with these strings of beads that our savages tie and braid their

[1] *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 137.

[2] Roger Williams. *A Key to the Language of America.* London, Dexter, 1643. Reprint by Narragansett Club, 1866, p. 173.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 177. Cf. also Wood, *New England Prospect*, p. 74, for mention of wampum girdle.

[4] *Jesuit Relations* (1716–27), vol. 67, p. 137.

THREE PENOBSCOT WAMPUM COLLARS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, HEYE FOUNDATION, A, 1-2400; B, 8182; C, 2-79

hair, above the ears and behind; they make of them earrings, necklaces, garters, and belts five or six inches broad and with this sort of finery they value themselves more than does a European with all his gold and precious stones.

Maurault mentioned, in a few passing remarks, the employment of wampum in ornamentation among the Abenaki.[1] The substance of his observation is that wampum was a very precious material. It was made of black and white shells strung on threads or fine roots. It was their sign of wealth, their greatest property, and their most desirable ornament. They traded objects for it, they made belts, collars, and bracelets of it and ornamented their robes and clothes with a thousand different figures.

Nicholas Denys, writing of the Micmac in 1672, also refers to the use of wampum in this region as a means of ornamentation,[2]

> In this fringe of a hair ornament they place wampum white and violet. They make of it also pendants for the ears, which they have pierced in two or three places."

Willoughby expresses himself in favor of the assumption that the original wampum of New England was of the disc type and that it was primarily used for ornamentation.[3] Prior to 1627, there seems to have been very little wampum among the New England tribes, its use being confined to "Ye Sachems and Some Spetiall Persons that Wore a little of it for Ornament."[4] Willoughby further summarizes the use of wampum in New England from extensive sources, as currency and woven to make garments, belts, bracelets, collars, ear pendants, neck ornaments, head bands, for ornamenting bags, wallets, and articles of dress. Champlain, too, saw shell beads worn as ornaments in New England in 1606.

[1] J. A. Maurault, *Histoire des Abenakis*, Quebec, 1866, pp. 27 and 78. A chief is described as having come to Fort George wearing a skin ornamented with wampum and confined at the waist by a belt of the same.

[2] Nicholas Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America* (Acadia). Edition of the Champlain Society, Toronto, 1908, by W. F. Ganong, p. 414. See also quotation from the same author (*op. cit.*, p. 312).

[3] C. C. Willoughby, Dress and Ornaments of the New England Indians, *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. VII, no. 3, p. 507.

[4] Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, Boston, 1898, p. 282.

[5] Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

Deducing from the material presented a possibility or two concerning the stages of development through which wampum must have passed, it seems reasonable to suppose that wampum of the disc type was originally used in simple lengths or strings functioning primarily as a means of ornamentation,[1] then as instruments of ceremony, negotiation, and as mnemonic documents. The substitution of cylindrical beads assumedly came later as an improvement, permitting considerable technical development from the simple strings into more complex woven objects, accompanied by an expansion both in function and in subjective significance.

Ornaments of wampum constituted personal property among the northeastern natives. The personal adornments of the Penobscot are typical of the specimens coming from the whole general region so I shall use material and information from this source because I had the opportunity of making the subject one of special inquiry in the field. The Malecite and Passamaquoddy, I learned, have, or at all events had in former times before they were lost, sold or stolen, objects identical with those to be described both in technique and design, as the illustrations show.

The specimens figured in the plates may be found for the most part in the collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; others are reproduced from specimens of art in wampum from the northeast now in the American Museum of Natural History, and the Peabody Museum, Harvard University; those still in the possession of the natives and in the hands of the writer.

The first article to claim attention is one that figured very prominently here not alone as a personal decorative heirloom but one which, having something of the form of the so-called "belt," served

[1] Besides Mr. Willoughby (*op. cit.*, p. 507), other modern authors have expressed the same opinion. It is gathered from the text of Dr. Holmes's work, Art in Shell of the Ancient Americans, *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1883, p. 232, that one of the most important original functions of wampum was that of ornament. He also quotes *Collections of New York Historical Society*, vol. 1, 1841, p. 194, to the same end. The ornamental function is also emphasized by L. H. Morgan, *Fifth Annual Report of New York State Cabinet of Natural History*, pp. 71–73. Beverly, *History of Virginia*, p. 195, might also be referred to as showing its wide use as a means of decoration, cf. also Ruttenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson River*, Albany (1872), p. 26.

at times in the capacity of a ceremonial object in the proceedings of the council or in marriage proposal. It seems without question to be the *chef d'œuvre* in wampum of the Wabanaki, its single peculiarity in construction, (the diagonal weave) being unlike anything so far found elsewhere in America. This article is the curved collar called *we'wədjiski'-'bebi* "strip fastened about the neck" in Penobscot, *weu^{w}tci'ski'-bep'* in Malecite and Passamaquoddy. In Micmac this is given as *ŭktogŭloowŏkŭnā'*[1] by Rand in whose collection of myths it is occasionally referred to as worn by the heroes of old. Fine examples of these collars are shown in plate[2] 1 and in fig. 1, *a*. The dimensions of the specimens of the curved collars accessible for measurement are as follows: specimen *a*, length 82 cm., specimen *b*, 80.5 cm., specimen *c*, 62 cm.[3]

FIG. 1.—Penobscot wampum collar and belt in the Collection of the American Museum of Natural History. Left *a*, 50.1–1431; right, *b*, 50.1–1430.

Since the technical details of the weave are so distinctive some constructional particulars will be given. The beads are strung one at a time on double threads, suspended from a piece of leather cut obliquely. The upper outside thread turns in and passes be-

[1] S. T. Rand, *Dictionary of the Language of the Micmac Indians*, Halifax, 1898, p. 62.

[2] Cf. Beauchamp (*op. cit.*, p. 429, pl. 26) for illustrations of two of these objects.

[3] Specimens in the Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation, *a* and *c* collected without specific data, *b* obtained from Ada Sockbesin, Oldtown, Me., said to have been in her grandmother's family since about 1825. The other (fig. 1, *a*) is in the American Museum of Natural History, and is 24 in. in length.

tween the doubled warps in each course of beads. The bead woven fabric is consequently built up by hand, that is, without a loom, each warp in turn becoming a diagonal woof between a row of the beads. A curvature is thus acquired allowing the strip when hung over the neck to lie flat upon the chest without rumpling.

Some symbolism appears in connection with the characteristic designs, which in inception are no doubt technically conventional. The triangles in white and the crosses, which most informants emphasize as solely ornamental, are nevertheless associated in the Penobscot mind with the conception of friendship, happiness, and unity between individuals and peoples.

One of the wampum collars figured (plate 1, fig. *a*) had a double function ascribed to it by Newell Lyon. Aside from its employment as a neck ornament the informant added that the collar was intended also to have been retained by the Penobscot chief as a memorial of a treaty of friendship between tribes represented on the collar by the nine crosses enclosed in double oblique crossbars. Lyon, who was then governor of the Penobscot, enumerated eight tribes represented by the crosses, the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Malecite, Micmac, Iroquois (Mohawk), Eastern Chippewa, Ottawa, and Flatheads (Têtes de Boule). From this list the Abenaki of St. Francis appear to be omitted, although they were well known to the Penobscot. This might have been the ninth tribe represented by the series of enclosed crosses.

The investigator need hardly be told, as the informants remind us, that the people of a poorer sort who had no wampum to use for personal decoration would naturally possess only articles made of common beads. The different wampum ornaments just listed, and in a manner described, have nearly all at one time or another been observed made of ordinary beads in imitation of the wampum objects. One of these in particular is so well done and so like the real wampum collar in technique and design that it deserves to be included among the originals. We know little of its history except that it is of Penobscot make and is now a part of the collection of the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation.

Woven bands about an inch in width and of a length sufficient to fit fairly closely around the neck are represented by several

specimens in collections (pl. II, *a*, *b*, *c*, and fig. 2 *a*).[1] They bear the same designation as the larger collars of the type just mentioned, but they are constructed in the straight not the diagonal weave. These articles were worn more often by women than by men, some of them

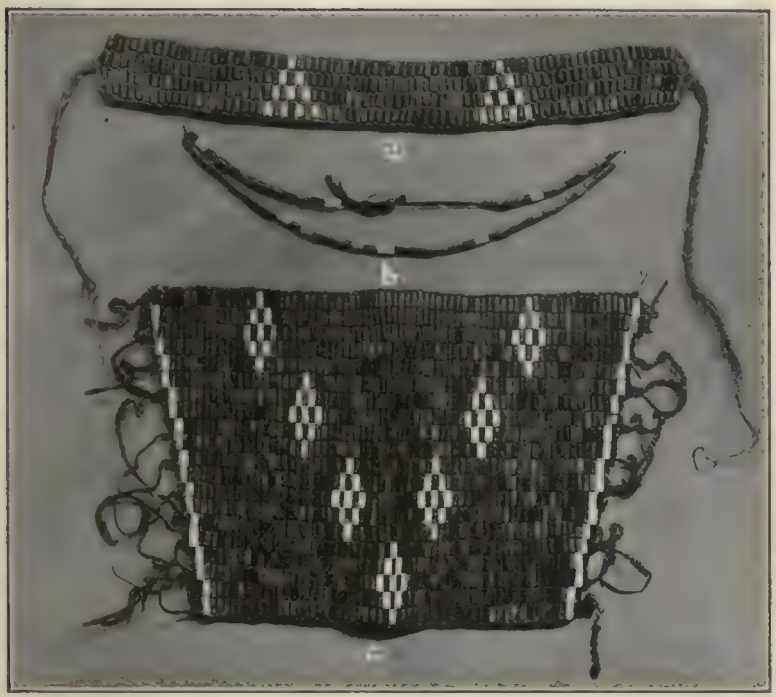


FIG. 2.—Penobscot wampum collar and necklace *a* and *b*; and Iroquois wampum hair ornament *c*.

being only large enough for little girls. Of the other specimens figured (fig. 2 *a*) one was obtained by the writer from the Penobscot, the others are in the Museum of the American Indian. They are alike in bearing symmetrical triangular designs in white. The specimen first referred to is woven on threads of fibre from the stalks of Indian

[1] Specimens *a* and *b* are respectively 22 and 23 cm. in length, and were obtained at Pleasant point from the Passamaquoddy; *a* belonged to the son of Chief Tomah Joseph, *b* to Charles Mitchell; *c* (Penobscot) is 25.5 cm. long, is accompanied by no specific data; *d* is 32.5 cm. long, without data, and *e* is 35.5 cm. long, and belonged to Martha Dana, a Passamaquoddy at Pleasant point. These and the preceding specific particulars were furnished by Mr. Heye to whose collection they belong.

Hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) called *pske'ta'guk*, "ramified" by the Penobscot who used this material extensively for sewing purposes in former times.[1]

Several bands (235 mm. by 40 mm.) of the same type, now in the British Museum, are figured and described by Mr. Bushnell.[2] The character of the figures on these specimens, triangles, and crosses identical in form and spacing with those of other specimens, makes it very probable they are of Wabanaki manufacture. Their identity is not given. The fact, however, that there are many white glass beads in them strengthens this inference because most of the Wabanaki, especially the Passamaquoddy wampums, have the same defect. Bushnell surmises that they came from the eastern Algonkian.

Another interesting example of the wampum band is figured in color, from the collection of the Free Museum of Science and Art, and discussed briefly and faultily by Dr. Brinton.[3] This "belt" is described as being 11½ inches long, having been bought by Mr. G. E. Starr at an Indian village near Andover, New Brunswick, of a woman named Susan Perley, "a member of a tribe calling themselves the Tobique, a branch of the Micmac." Mrs. Perley, who died only a few years ago at this Malecite village, was herself a Malecite. Another belt belonging to her is now in the cases of the Museum at St. John, N. B. Dr. Brinton treats us to a piece of pure speculation when he interprets the belt and figures as belonging

> to one of a class of such objects called "missionary belts." The cross in the center indicates this. . . . The triangular figures in white beads on each side of the cross probably represent church steeples and are thus symbolical of two parishes.

In the same class as the fore-mentioned things as regards technique but not function, are to be included the larger belts of wam-

[1] Cf. C. C. Willoughby, "Textile Fabrics of the New England Indians," *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. VII, no. 1 (1905), pp. 90, 92.

[2] D. I. Bushnell, Jr., "The Origin of Wampum," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 36 (1906), pp. 172–7, pl. XVIII, figs. c and d.

[3] *Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art*, University of Pennsylvania, no. 4 (June, 1898), p. 184.

pum. These were not the same articles as the ceremonial or documentary belts although they may have been the proto-type of them. The belts or girdles are known as *gədəgwa'bi·zun* in Penobscot and *gəspi·'zwun* in Malecite, meaning "going around the body." No actual specimens of the wampum girdle have ever been seen by any living Indians, I am sure from inquiry in the region. They are known solely through hearsay and are mentioned in mythology, belonging to the days of uncontaminated native culture.

FIG. 3.—Governor Saul Neptune (Penobscot) wearing wampum neck band and breast ornament.

Undoubtedly many admirable works of art in wampum have been lost or deliberately taken apart to provide beads for some trivial temporary purposes. For we are told the people of a generation ago were apt to do this, when occasion arose that a few beads were wanted by someone intending to present a wampum marriage proposal. We have an instance of how such elaborate things completely vanished and became lost to memory except for some more or less accidental reminder having outlived them. The case in point is that of an old photograph of Governor Saul Neptune, the last hereditary chief of the Penobscot who died about 25 years ago, in which the old man appears wearing a wampum collar with a woven breast piece attached to it. A copy of this portrait is given herewith (fig. 3). The mere fact that such a thing must have existed because it is in the picture is all that it seems possible to learn concerning it. I

regret to have to say that the most persistent questioning regarding its details as well as its whereabouts has been futile. It is presumed to have been treated to an application of the shears. No account of Wabanaki wampum, however, would be complete without including this portrait even for which, under the circumstances, we should perhaps be thankful.

The next most elaborate article in wampum which we hear of is the hair ornament called *aso'kebi'* "strip tied on the hair" in Penobscot, *aso'keb'* in Malecite and Passamaquoddy, and given by Rand as *sagulōbe*[1] or *suggalobee*[2] in Micmac. So far as is known there is not a specimen of this object made of wampum extant today from the region of the eastern Algonkian. Aside from traditional knowledge we have only one thing to rely upon, which is the fact that hair ornaments or binders of cloth decorated with common beads are said to perpetuate the fashion of the ancient affair. A number of these are preserved in the collections previously referred to. The strips range from eight inches to twelve in length with a width of from two to three inches, sometimes tapering a little to the lower part. It was formerly the fashion among women to gather the hair together in a bunch at the back of the neck and to tie it there with this binder which would thus envelope the cluster of hair at the nape in such a way as to present the beaded decoration to view. A similar affectation is in vogue among the women of some of the central Algonkian tribes who add to the effect by attaching long ribbon or bead woven streamers to the binder. Fortunately we possess an interesting old description of the decorated hair ornament in the east from the pen of Nicholas Denys.[3] Describing the fashion of the Micmac girls of 1672, he says, "Girls tie their hair behind with cords. The more fancy ones are made into an ornamental piece twelve by eighteen inches square woven with porcupine quills." (See also page 2.)

[1] S. T. Rand, *Micmac Dictionary*, p. 127.

[2] S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs* (1894), p. 163, footnote. "The Indian women of old used to allow their hair to grow long, then double it up on the back of the head, making additions to enlarge the roll, and then bind all together in a bunch with *sŭggălóbee* (long string); in short they wore "waterfalls."

[3] Nicholas Denys, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

While at the present time we possess no examples of wampum hair ornaments of the type referred to which are definitely known to be of eastern Algonkian make, it is true nevertheless that several such objects, or at any rate what I deem to be the same, have been obtained from the Iroquois. These are broad strips woven in wampum, which, on account of their size and form, being narrower at one end than at the other, have been called "cuffs" by several authors for no more of a reason apparently than their fancied resemblance to a detached cuff. Since the specimens under discussion, although supposedly of Iroquois manufacture, seem to exemplify the ornaments we are trying to learn about, I have introduced an illustration of one of them in this paper (fig. 2 *c*). There are several specimens in the collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. The one figured came from the Iroquois and Algonquin, at Oka, P. Q., where I learned from these people that such things were intended for the hair, though no one encountered had actually seen them in use. The fact that both of these fabrics are too small to encircle a wrist of ordinary size tends to confirm this explanation and to discredit the idea of their having been employed as cuffs. Beauchamp[1] moreover figures two of these affairs and suggests "cuffs," saying that they were obtained from the region of Georgian Bay, Ontario.

Those among the Penobscot of the present generation who remember hearing the wampum hair ornament described say that it was a most artistic thing. Among the ornamental designs which embellished the hair-band, the triangle is specifically indicated.

Another ornament of wampum is recalled among the Penobscot. It was intended to be worn in the hat or, before the period of culture transition, in the hair, and was called *awip'hónsi's*, "little feather" because it symbolized the plume. It was commonly worn by the men of antiquity. The manner of wearing this article was to allow it to hang from one side where it was fastened to the hat brim. We are told furthermore that the "little feather" was an affectation among young men who were fortunate enough to have

[1] W. M. Beauchamp, "Wampum and Shell Articles Used by the New York Indians," *Bulletin New York State Museum*, no. 1, vol. VIII, 1901, p. 422, pl. 12.

female admirers so solicitous as to make them for them. The details of construction are again only traditional. They were woven in the same manner as the ordinary straight belts or collars though of course much smaller, being about the length of a finger and one half its width. A white triangle in a dark background is one of the common designs remembered by Newell Lyon as having been executed in these ornaments.

The commonest and humblest ornamental article in wampum found among the Wabanaki tribes is the necklace consisting of a single string of beads to be worn about the neck loosely or tightly, as the quantity may allow. The Penobscot designate this object *psi·ʷkozəwan*, the Malecite *psi·ˈkwɔ′zwɑn*, and the Micmac *upkoosoon*,[1] the term denoting that something encircles the neck. Specimens of the string necklace have been obtained from practically all the tribes of the east; so we may refer to this simple article as a personal ornament of the most general character. Excavations along the coast of Maine have disclosed them in burials, in such cases the beads are for the most part of the coarser discoidal type. Micmac necklaces of wampum were mentioned in the work of Father Leclercq in 1691.[2]

In the accompanying figures are shown a number of examples of these ornaments from several collections. The variations in the spacing of the white and the dark beads are of course the only color arrangements possible here. In some specimens the spacing is regular, in others not. One is told that the relative abundance of the different colored beads was the determinant. In some Penobscot examples we note such arrangements as one white, ten dark, for several intervals, then a couple of alternating white and dark ones and finally some more wide spaces of dark. The specimens shown in plate IV are in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, *a*, *c* and *f* were obtained from the son of Chief Tomah Joseph, Passamaquoddy, and were used, the catalogue entry states, as necklaces. These are respectively 24, 20 and 55 cm. in length doubled. Specimen *b* is 33.5 cm. in length, and *d* is 48 cm. long.

[1] S. T. Rand, *Micmac Dictionary*, p. 178.

[2] Chrêtienne Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

both from the Penobscot, while *e* is 90 cm. long, and was obtained of Miss Nicola, Penobscot. As a rule these necklaces contain from fifty to a hundred or so beads. One of the marriage proposal wampums to be mentioned later under the proper heading, obtained from the Wawenock, served the secondary associated function of ornament (fig. 7 *a*, *b*). This consists of a loop of dark wampum about a fathom in length (about 500 beads) and an accompanying loop of about eighty beads all of which are white except three. These loops, folded according to taste or convenience, were said by the Wawenock informant, whose grandmother had received them at the time of her betrothal, to have been worn as a necklace.

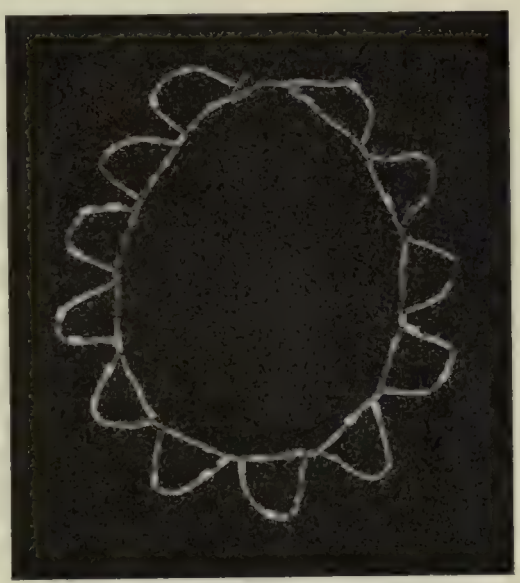


FIG. 4.—Passamaquoddy wampum necklace, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1–2806.

Another more complex example of the wampum necklace in the American Museum of Natural History is one from the Malecite of Kingsclear, N. B. In this the usual form is varied by a number of loops being attached to the strand. Another specimen in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, is about 44 cm. long, and was obtained from the Passamaquoddy (fig. 4).

The sources and material which have been gone through in the course of this study have contributed naturally toward the formation of certain opinions and tentative conclusions. Reviewing the functions of wampum in the northeast, one is permitted to see how the earliest historical notices emphasize its ornamental func-

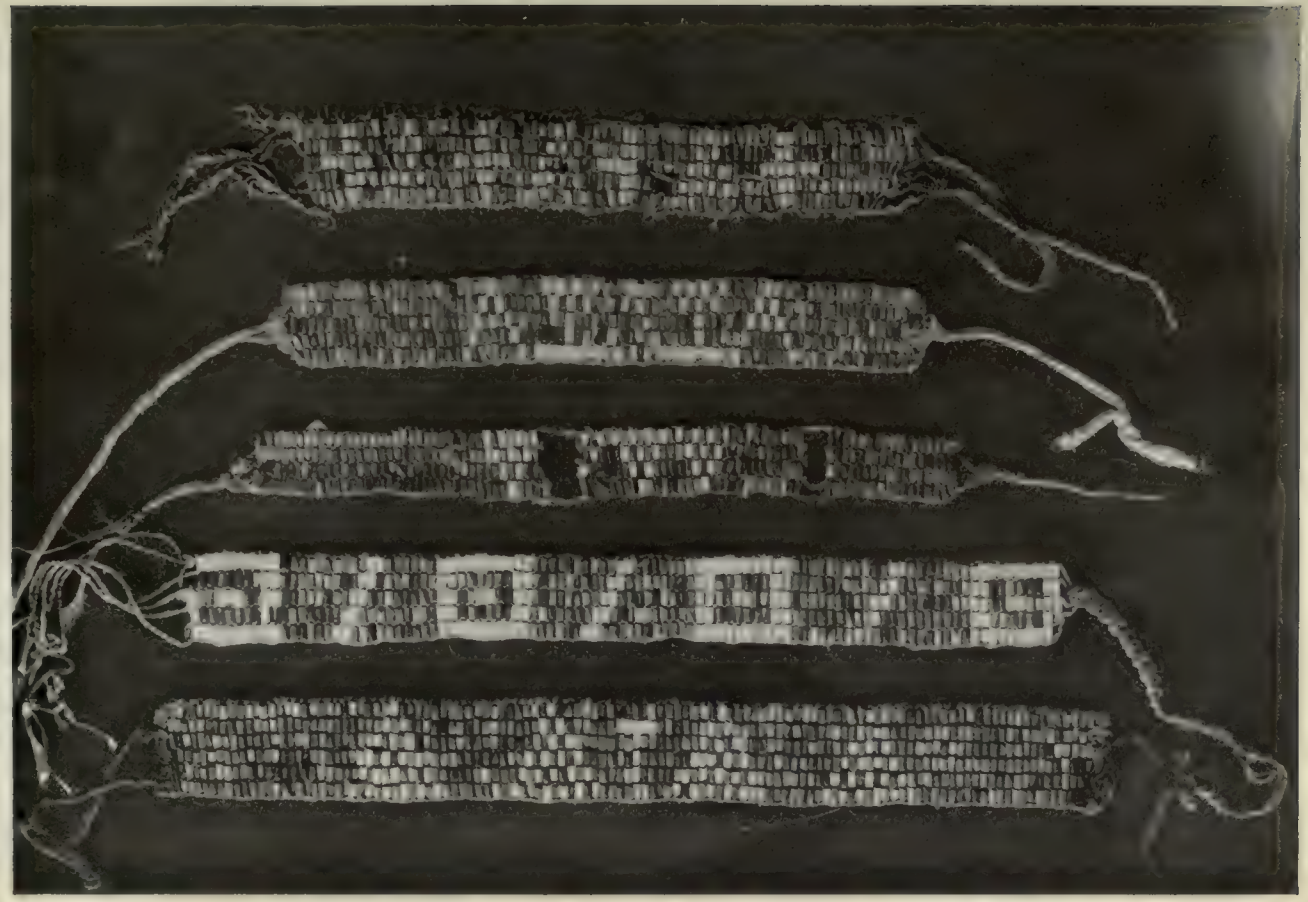
tion, how a later historical perspective shows some development of the ceremonial idea which had reached such an advanced stage with the Iroquois. Eastward, in the more primitive area, the old relatively simple function of ornamentation survived to a much later period, the ceremonial function having developed to only a limited extent, and this evidently due to the stimulus of contact with the Iroquois.

The Use of Wampum in Ceremonies in the Northeast

The category of ceremonial functions formerly served by wampum in the case of the Penobscot, and probably among the related Wabanaki tribes, did not seem to include any extensive use in connection with such formalities as ransom, bribery, or compensation. Considering the rather few ways in which it was employed we must conclude that here the beads had some definite limitations of use.

By contrast with the Iroquois, the eastern natives in general seem to have been lacking in respect to ceremonial performances. We learn, through the perusal of the older accounts and through ethnological inquiries, of the two definite ceremonial purposes to which wampum was devoted, and which are more or less well known as characteristic of this particular culture center. In a number of aspects it was employed in council procedures, as pledge, message bearer, reminder, and even mildly as fetish. And again its other next most serious purpose was as the instrument of proposal of marriage.

To deal with the first of these, the council service, would be a rather extensive undertaking were we to present matter forthcoming from the four tribes of the Wabanaki group. That the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Malecite, and Micmac were all severally as well as collectively engaged in political negotiations with each other and with the Iroquois we know from their own testimony and from the assertions of early literature. Among these tribes existed a confederacy which was dependent upon and modelled after that of the Iroquois. Wampum played a very important part in its ceremonies. The subject matter of the Wabanaki



PASSAMAQUODDY AND PENOBSCOT WAMPUM COLLARS AND BELTS. COLLECTION OF THE MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, HEYE FOUNDATION.
FROM TOP TO BOTTOM: A, 1-2802; B, 1-2801; C, 1-8333; D, 3-575; E, 1-2800

confederacy, the name by which it has come to be known, is at this time far from being susceptible of complete treatment because a great deal of research remains to be carried on in at least three of the divisions. Prof. Prince has published a short paper treating the legislative and historical side confederacy from Passamaquoddy sources, and his information is about the most complete that we possess as yet concerning the formal use of wampum by these tribes.[1] As for the Micmac, who retained their allegiance to the old régime longest, we have only the beginnings of treatment. As early as 1691, however, Father Leclercq referred in his book to the political relationship between the Micmac and their neighbors. And again the writer has a brief section on Micmac wampum and this tribe's participation in the life of the confederacy in a paper to be referred to shortly. Leclercq does this topic a valuable service by giving us another piece of information. In speaking of the relations of the Micmac with other tribes he says:

> They ask . . . for auxiliary troops from their allies if they cannot themselves settle their quarrels; and they send ambassadors with collars of wampum to invite these to take up the hatchet against the enemies of the nation.[2]

Father Ralses, in a letter to his brother in 1723, written at Norridgewock, Maine, indicated that in his time wampum was used in negotiations. He remarked:

> the custom of these tribes when they write to another tribe is to send a collar or broad belt (un collier ou une large ceinture) upon which they make many figures with porcelain beads of different colors. They instruct him who bears the collar by saying to him. "This is what the collar says to such and such a tribe to such a person," and they send him away. Our savages would have difficulty in understanding what we say to them and would not be very attentive if he did not conform to their manner of thought and expression.[3]

A study of the function of wampum among the Abenaki of St. Francis would undoubtedly disclose many interesting particulars if

[1] J. D. Prince, The Passamaquoddy Wampum Records. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. xxxvi, no. 156, pp. 479–495. Also, Some Passamaquoddy Documents, *Annals, New York Academy of Sciences*, vol. xi, no. 15, pp. 370–4.

[2] Leclercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia* (original edition, Paris, 1691). Edition of Champlain Society, by W. F. Ganong, 1910.

[3] *Jesuit Relations*, Thwaites edition, vol. 67 (1716–27), p. 187.

earlier conditions had been more favorable for the preservation of knowledge in this quarter. As might be inferred, the geographical and political situation of the tribe, being closer to the Iroquois, certain intermediate features in wampum ceremonial should be evidenced. Under existing conditions, however, the only sources worth considering seem to be the early literary ones.[1] The present day inhabitants of the Abenaki village know very little of their former wampum concerns. Maurault has compiled from old accounts some satisfactory points on this subject. What he records is, in substance, that wampum was precious and full of meaning. The tribe, he says, had a bag called *pitaugan*[2] in which wampum was kept and guarded by appointed people. In 1771 six men and seven women were placed in charge of it. The tribe at this time possessed nine collars of wampum and thirteen strings or speeches, besides a string which meant "the bond of the bones of the Abenaki be respected," and another "that the covering of their bones be also respected." The strings were words, each having some meaning according to size or color. Painted red they meant war, white meant peace. The more important the message the larger the string. Belts were given and kept as records of alliance between tribes. At every council the wampum bag was brought out and gone through.[3] Condolence and indemnity for murder were communicated through wampum among the Abenaki as is specifically stated by the same author.[4]

Some years ago I made an inquiry into the affairs of the Wabanaki confederacy, as they were remembered among the Penobscot.

[1] *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites edition), vol. LXVII (1716–1727), pp. 33, 35. This advises the sending of a collar by Sieur de Ramezay to the Abenakis as a warning against their settling near the English. Also P. de Charlevoix, *Histoire Général de la Nouvelle France*, vol. III, pp. 71, 79.

[2] Penobscot *pi·tsɔnq'ŋgan* "pouch." The Delaware had a "Counsel Bagg" for this purpose. (Cf. *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1664–1790, Hazard edition, vol. I, p. 762, quoted by Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, p. 384. The Mohican of Hudson River had a bag in which was kept their wampum belts and strings. Cf. Ruttenber, *op. cit.*, p. 43. The office of custodian is evidently a borrowing from the Iroquois.

[3] Summarized from J. A. Maurault, *Histoire des Abenakis*, Quebec, 1866, pp. 571–572 and 27.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

The results were published in a paper[1] to which I shall now beg leave to refer, because these pages would be quite incomplete without the incorporation of some of the observations bearing upon wampum contained in it. Later thought and inquiry have, besides, enabled me to make some extensions to the original matter.

The Wabanaki tribes, had from the earliest times suffered more or less from incursions of the Iroquois who were evidently, according to their usual policy, bent upon forcing them to join the League.[2]

At length deliberations brought an end to the wars in the foundation of an alliance between the Wabanaki, headed by the Penobscot, and the Mohawk of Caughnawaga and Oka, together with other neighboring tribes whose fortunes were in different ways linked with those of the principals. From this time onward, still following the general tradition, the confederacy grew in importance; the Wabanaki tribes forming themselves into an eastern member with their convention headquarters at Oldtown among the Penobscot; and the whole confederated group, embracing the Wabanaki tribes, the Mohawk and the neighboring Algonkian associates, with the Ottawa at their head, appointing Caughnawaga as the confederacy capital. Here regular meetings were held among delegates from the allied tribes where their formal relationship was maintained by series of symbolical ceremonies. Incidentally, we can readily see what a profound effect this steady contact with the superior culture of the Iroquois must have had upon the simpler nomadic hunting tribes of the Wabanaki group. The effect appears clearly in the wampum procedures, the condolence ceremony, the election of chiefs, the

[1] F. G. Speck, The Eastern Algonkian Wabanaki Confederacy, *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. XVII, No. 3, 1915, pp. 492–508.

[2] This period of hostility (approximately 1661–1700 when peace was established) is a topic of frequent treatment in the historical literature concerning these tribes as well as in their own traditions. For example, cf. S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmac*, pp. 220–222; J. D. Prince, The Passamaquoddy Wampum Records, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, vol. 36, No. 156, p. 483; Notes on Passamaquoddy Literature, *Annals of New York Academy of Science*, vol. XIII, No. 4, pp. 382–3; Some Passamaquoddy Documents, *ibid.*, vol. XI, pp. 370–4. W. H. Mechling, *Malecite Tales*, pp. 106–133. J. A. Maurault, *Histoire des Abenakis*, pp. 230, 157 *passim*. The Jesuit Relations also have much to say of early Iroquois oppression. In my own collections of Abenaki, Montagnais and Penobscot texts and tales references to the same are particularly common. One episode in this category of tales is especially widespread among the northern and eastern Algonkian. It relates how a hostile Iroquois canoe party was lured to destruction in a waterfall through the strategy of a captured guide. Cf. Mechling, *Malecite Tales*, p. 106, who remarks on its extended distribution. It is recorded by J. D. Prince, *op. cit.*, p. 374. A. B. Skinner, Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux, *Anthropological Publications of American Museum of Natural History*, vol. IX, pp. 1–178. F. G. Speck, *Myths and Folk-Lore of the Timiskaming Algonquin and Timagami Ojibwa*, Memoir 71, Anthropological Series, No. 9, pp. 26–7; and Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 344.

sending of delegates, and functions of peace and war in general which characterized the internal operations of the Wabanaki confederacy, the whole fabric of which was manifestly modeled after the pattern of the Iroquoian League.[1]

FIG. 5.—Old Penobscot Council house on Indian island where the Confederacy delegates held their meetings. (Photo F. G. Speck, Jan., 1917.)

As I have already indicated, the Penobscot,[2] Passamaquoddy, Malecite, and Micmac, forming the Wabanaki group, had a certain national identity based upon their close ethnical relationship. No doubt the political bonds which linked them together existed long before the alliance with the Iroquois and their neighbors. These tribes in common elected each other's chiefs, called upon each other

[1] That the evidences for this conclusion prove satisfactory to ethnologists is shown by the remarks of Dr. Sapir, "Thus there is no doubt that the so-called Wabanaki Confederacy of certain Eastern Algonkian tribes was brought into being largely by the suggestive influence of the powerful Iroquois Confederacy that harassed these tribes." (Cf. E. Sapir, The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Ser. III, vol. IX (1915), p. 356.)

[2] The photograph (fig. 5) showing this building at the Penobscot village may be of incidental interest to the reader. It is now occupied as a residence by the aged informant, Newell Lyon. The Penobscot still display the Indian flag at election times, as the accompanying figure shows, opposite the council hall. The photograph was taken on January 1, 1917, when Governor Newell Francis and Lieutenant Governor Peter Neptune were inaugurated for two years.

for aid against outside enemies, and held meetings to treat upon matters which affected their common interests. So, apart from their associations with the confederacy, at large, they formed a sort of independent group of allies. As might be expected, the documents of their organization consisted of belts and strings of wampum which were held in as high esteem as among the Iroquois. Although none of the original national belts are at this day extant among the Penobscot or their neighbors, with the exception of the Micmac, I succeeded in having a number of Penobscot fac-similes made by an Indian girl. These were based on specifications as to form and design furnished by Newell Lyon, who remembered the actual articles himself from having seen them used in his younger days. These reproductions now serve a valuable purpose in providing us with illustrations of objects and ideas which otherwise would be irrevocably lost. We know that the other three tribes also had their sets of ceremonial wampum which were kept in their council houses in the care of their head chiefs respectively.[1]

Our first example shows the type of belt carried by the Penobscot delegate to the council at Caughnawaga. This is about 15 inches long (pl. III, fig. *a*).[2] The white ground color symbolizes its peaceful mission, the blue rectangle in the center represents the four Wabanaki tribes grouped about their council fire, while the four small crosses ranged at the sides again denote the four tribes. Another somewhat variant interpretation may be given in which the central rectangle represents the council fire of the confederacy at Caughnawaga, to which the four tribes indicated by the crosses owe their allegiance.

[1] A belt in the New York State Museum at Albany is said to have come from Oldtown which, if true, might identify this as one of the dispersed Penobscot ceremonial belts. A. C. Parker (*New York State Museum Bulletin* 121, Report of the Director, 1907, pp. 108–9) gives its description and a photograph (Plate 49, Figure 1): "A belt 22 inches long, eight rows wide, purchased of W. C. Hill of New York. The design consisting of six diagonal bars of white beads, three bars on each side of a central cross, the arms of which radiate from a central square, composed of eight white beads strung on vegetable twine, probably hemp. Said to have come from Oldtown, Maine, to be of Iroquois manufacture and a condolence belt, a command and summons to a condolence council at Onondaga." The symbolism and interpretation here are apparently in accord. The central rectangle representing the council center (which was at Caughnawaga instead of at Onandaga), the four radiating lines symbolizing the four Wabanaki tribes and the six oblique bars certain of the other allies, though not the Six Nations, because the Iroquois at Caughnawaga had no official connections with them. (Cf. J. N. B. Hewitt, *American Anthropologist* n.s., vol. XIX, No. 3, 1917, p. 432.)

It may be recalled that some of the wampum collars also had double functions. Newell Lyon stated that one of the collars which he saw in the Penobscot collection of the Heye Museum was intended also to represent a memorial of a treaty between tribes represented on the collar by the nine crosses enclosed in double oblique cross-bars. (See p. 24 of this paper and plate I, figure *a*.)

[2] I feel obliged to add that, in the matter of precise size, the memory estimate of the informant should not be implicitly relied upon.

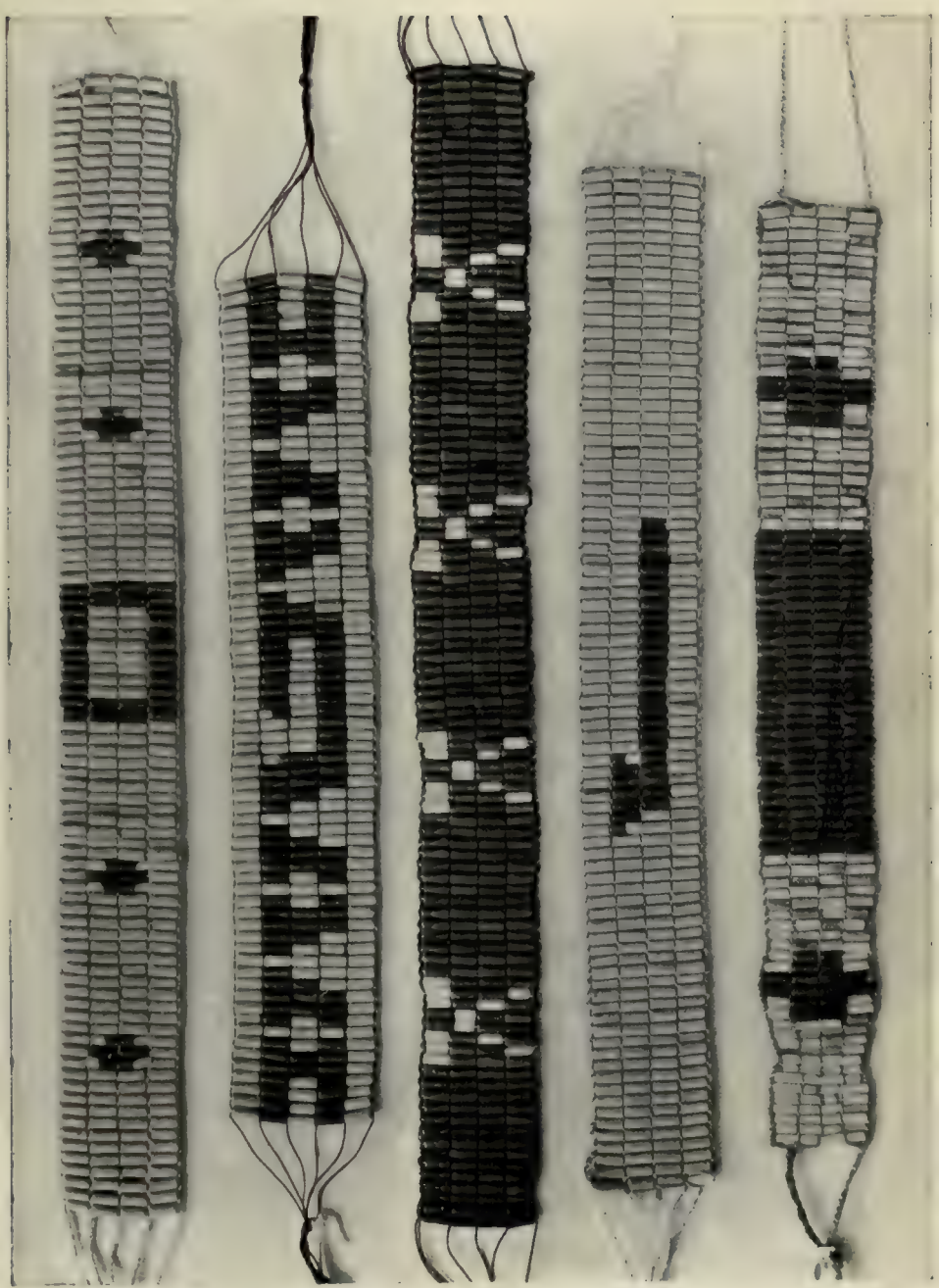
Next in importance is, perhaps, the belt representing the union of the four eastern tribes in their local alliance (pl. III, fig. *b*). This was a somewhat broader belt with a dark background, denoting former hostility among the tribes, lightened on the margins with white borders denoting the bonds of friendship that now surround them. The alternating panels of blue and white at the ends are evidently a convention imitated from the Iroquois. The four white triangles are tribal "wigwams," the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Malecite, and Micmac. In the center is the pipe which is the symbol of the peace ceremony by which the allies are joined. Such a belt would serve very general purposes in the days of the confederacy.[1] It was a reminder of the confederacy to be carried by messengers from any council as a testimonial.

When any of the Wabanaki allies were menaced with war it was their right to call upon the other three for support. For this purpose, when occasion arose, the Penobscot had a war belt and a peace belt, of which reproductions are shown. Each chief of the other tribes is also said to have had a similar set. The war belt (pl. III, fig. *c*), about 15 inches long, had a solid blue background with four pairs of crossed tomahawks across it. The dark background stands for war, the four pairs of axes constitute a call to the four nations to join in taking up the tomahawk in the common cause. To use the informant's phraseology, "If any trouble arose in sight of the chief he would send this belt by runners to the chief of the nearest tribe accompanied by his message stating the circumstances." The receiver would then forward it to the chief, of the next tribe, and so on, until the belt would ultimately be returned to its starting place. The mate to this belt was the peace belt, one of about the same size, entirely white with the figure of a pipe in blue in the center (pl. III, fig. *d*). This was to inform the allies that overtures of peace had been received from the enemy, and also served as a summons to council to consider the proposals.

Upon the occasion of the death of a chief several delegates were sent by the Penobscot to their neighbors carrying the so-called "mourning belt."

The wampum they carried was either in the form of the Wabanaki alliance belt, the white one with four dark triangles (pl. III, fig. *a*), or one more specially symbolical. The latter as a mourning belt was smaller than the rest, about twelve inches long, mostly white with a section of blue in the center representing the dead chief, and flanked by two blue crosses denoting the second chiefs or captains in mourning (pl. III, fig. *e*).

[1] Beauchamp (*op. cit.*, p. 403, quoting Kidder, *Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia in the Revolution*, p. 286), speaks of a "belt given by the Indians of Maine as a pledge of friendship to the United States and France." A cross signified the French, the 13 rows of the belt the United States and the Indian villages were shown by several white figures.



REPRODUCTIONS OF PENOBSCOT CEREMONIAL WAMPUM BELTS

When a belt of this description was received by a chief it was, in some instances, the practice for him to hold it and to forward in its place simply a

string of wampum of which the specimen made by Newell Lyon is an example (fig. 6). The symbolism here is as follows. The four looped lengths represent the four tribes of the confederacy; the four sections of blue and white in each length and the four beads of each section all represent the same. The blue sections represent the mourning of the people for the dead chief and the white stands for the rejoicing which will take place when the new chief is raised. The blue ribbon represent mourning. The messengers then returned to the chief who sent them out, and when all the delegates from the four tribes were ready they assembled at the village of the bereaved tribe, returning to the council there the mourning belt which was sent out as the summons in the first place. Such strings as the specimen illustrated were mere secondary summons and were returned to the party who sent them out.

FIG. 6.—Penobscot wampum string; used as summons to inauguration of new chief.

To conclude this chapter with a few general remarks on the wampum which played such an important part in the life of the confederacy, we find that in all the Wabanaki tribes the ceremonial wampum is figuratively termed *gəlusəwa'ŋgan* "speech."[1] The loose ends of the warp strings of the belts symbolize emanating words. Merely ornamental objects of wampum from the region, when woven in the form of strips like belts, usually have their ends braided or tied into one strand.

We have a rather naïve but instructive account of the eastern Confederacy furnished by Joseph Nicolar, the Penobscot author who, over twenty years ago, wrote a little book on the customs and beliefs of his tribe. Nicolar's work contains some valuble information, though its merit is impaired by the author's somewhat dramatic ambition to produce a religious document. Nicolar's testimony, however, serves a certain purpose. He says:

[1] Malecite *Kluzəwa'gən*, Micmac *gluzəwa'γən*. Among figurative synonyms in Iroquois is noted gawĕñ'nā (Onondaga and Seneca) "the voice, the word, or the proposition," cf. J. N. B. Hewitt, *Handbook of the American Indians*, Bulletin 30, Bureau

A treaty was made and to make it lasting a large collection of wampum was made from all parts of the country, which was afterwards woven in a wampum band two hands wide and twenty-one hands long, and along in the middle part many different characters were woven in representing what the band was made for and who were concerned in it. This band was the grand council fire which was left in the care of the *Megwe* (Mohawk) who were very faithful to their duty until recently when they began to show signs of a change in demeanor. When this was discovered the visits to the council fire were after a while stopped. The discontinuance was brought about by the action of the Odurwur (Ottawa) which was soon followed by all the other tribes. The spot selected where the grand council fire was to be established was at the head of the first big rapids of the Great Lake River (Caughnawaga at Lachine Rapids)[1] and the name given to it was *ktci' skwu'dek*, 'big fire.' As has been stated before all the tribes visited this council fire every seven years, and during the council days all kinds of sports were enjoyed by the young. At first the Mohawks seemed pleased to have the people come and took pride in being able to entertain decently all that came. They seemed delighted in serving as the keeper, but after a long while wanted to be the commander. This the people could not tolerate, and quit going there. The last visit was made from the east only fifty-three years ago (1840) and some of the young men who went with the old men on that last visit are still living. One feature of the Federation that can be called pleasant was that the people divided themselves into three classes, the father, the eldest son and the youngest son. Odurwur was the father, Wabnaki "dawn lander," the eldest son, and Mikmur (Micmac) the youngest, was the youngest son, and after the division was made the oldest Micmac present was undressed and put into a cradle board where he was kept tied and fed all day like a little baby. Every time the delegates met at the grand council fire this performance was repeated.[2]

The Wampum Marriage Proposal

After having presented in the previous chapter the material obtained concerning the use of wampum in connection with the ceremonials of the Confederacy, it now remains to discuss the function of wampum among the Penobscot chiefly in its other important capacity, namely, as an instrument in the proposal of marriage.

During the past years having talked over with a number of informants among the different tribes of the region the generalities of

of American Ethnology, p. 908. Similar terms for wampum are common in Iroquois literature, cf. Hewitt, in Holmes Anniversary Volume, Washington, 1916, p. 168 et seq., where it is styled "their word." The Delaware apply the terms "covenant" and "answering" to notification and treaty belts, cf. D. G. Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, p. 188.

[2] Joseph Nicolar, *The Red Man*, Bangor, 1896, pp. 137, 139.

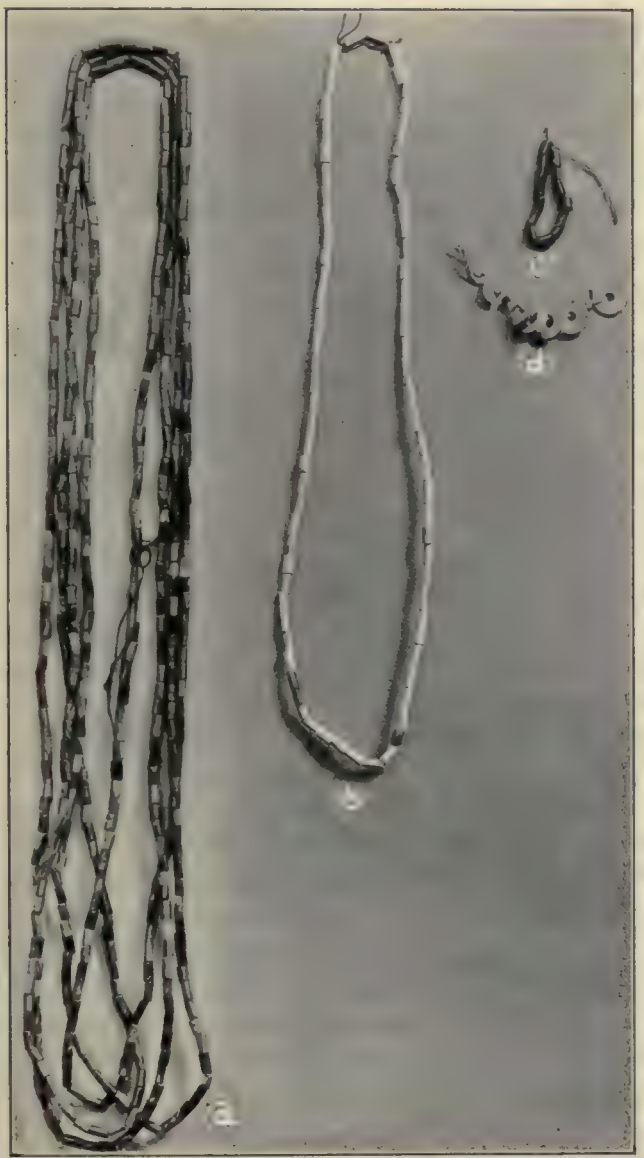


FIG. 7.—Wawenock marriage proposal wampum, *a* and *b;* string of Mohegan wampum beads, *c;* and discoidal wampum beads from burial site in Maine, *d.*

the wampum proposal, the following succinct facts may be summarized from the knowledge gained in this way together with the actual specific material gathered concerning the procedure. The proposal is communicated from the man desiring to marry to the family of the girl in view through the medium of a delegate, or two, who carries a quantity of wampum in whatever form it may be available, to the parents of the girl. In varying degrees the wampum functions as a mnemonic or symbolical document, the combination of colors sometimes symbolizing the textual meaning of the speech as it was delivered by the delegate.[1] In other cases, the beads simply served as testimonials of sincerity: gifts of value expressive of esteem, or as a ceremonial instrument of negotiation.[2] The acceptance of the wampum by the girl's parents or guardians signified acceptance. And they could keep the wampum in their possession as personal property,[3] though we are told that it was sometimes turned over to the girl herself (see Wawenock case, p. 54). Its rejection and return signified refusal. In general, it seems that if the girl refused the proffer, in spite of affirmative pressure brought to bear by her relatives, it was customary in earlier times to press her into the contract. This has not been the practice, however, in later years. Informants express their conviction that normally in the other case if the girl favored the match against her relatives' will, she would be forced to accept their decision unless she could violate custom and get away with the suitor.

From this general scheme of operation there were many deviations in practice, governed by the circumstances of the individual case. Many personal considerations would naturally arise upon such occasions to convert the wampum proposal into nothing more than a rather ununiform ceremonial formula. This will appear in the presentation of the concrete material to follow in the body of this section.

[1] See account of Passamaquoddy procedure, p. 52.

[2] See account of Abenaki and Penobscot procedure, pp. 47, 54.

[3] In another connection the importance of the uncles as substitutes for the father in this area has been emphasized. In the case of proposal we learn that if the girl is living with her uncle's family, though her father be living, the uncle may keep the wampum.

Before presenting the concrete facts, however, a few remarks are called for concerning a change in the procedure of the marriage proposal which seems to have taken place in historic times. In some respects the institution of proposal in this region is the most important phase of our information because it affords a slight time perspective, through two periods of the ceremony, based upon older and later records. These seem to indicate with some degree of plausibility two chronological periods. One of them refers to a period when the proposal was carried on without the aid of wampum, the marriage request having been accompanied by gifts of another sort and the speech of proposal not formalized by any symbolism. In the later period wampum seems to have come into use as an inseparable part of the ceremony in all the tribes of the Wabanaki group except the Micmac. The latter retained the simple procedure of the earlier period. The indications of this time division are forthcoming from the older literature of the Northeast, and from the ethnological material obtained from the tribes themselves in modern times. Thus we have knowledge of the two periods coming directly from Abenaki and Passamaquoddy sources,[1] and certain indications along the same line from a comparative interpretation of the data from the Micmac with the other Wabanaki tribes.

Penobscot Proposal with Wampum

The Penobscot, in historic times at least, invariably followed the procedure of the proposal with wampum *kəl·uləwa'dəwe*, "proposal speaking"; *kəl·u'ləᵭin* "proposal." They retained this practice as late as about 1900.

The following monologue is intended to represent a series of typical proposal announcements. It was recorded from the dictation of Newell Lyon at Oldtown, who had, fifty years ago, himself officiated several times in the capacity of delegate; *kəl·uləwe'djig*, "proposers."

He says that they carried walking sticks and wore high beaver hats; that on their way toward the home of the girl they enjoyed much hilarity, the meanwhile thumping the ends of their staffs on

[1] See pp. 52 and 54 of this paper.

the roadway with a mien of great importance. The delegates commanded no compensation for their services beyond receiving, as sometimes happened, presents of tobacco.

The delegate entered the dwelling and placed a handkerchief containing the wampum beads[1] in the lap of the girl's mother saying,

"wedji·be'djo‘s·ek ni·u'na ktcida·'mat na'ga wəli·'dəba‘da‘tc tcui·
"On an errand we [are] important and sacred it must
a''tc ale məzit·e da'ma wzam tanedu'dji· mądje'bmauzit ski'no‘s
also be as everywhere because whenever commencing to live young man
tcu·‘ sala''ki ta'ma oma'wina‘wal p‘hɛ·'nemul‘ bada'nyu·l
surely comes a time wherein he settles upon a woman maybe this one
ni·zauzi·'li·djil nəni·''kwup be·'səgo ama'wina‘wal kədóz-
[to be] as his own companion. And now one has settled upon your
uwal‘.[2] *Ni·''kwup i·bi·'tde gi·zi·i·dam wuli·se'nabe na‘skino''səmna*
daughter. Now only I can say [that] he is a good man our young man
Pan·a''kesu ni·a mɛ·'sma na·'mi·ha ke'gwus a'li· a'wobalalo''ke i·bi·tde
Sable I never saw anything how wrong doing only
ni·gi·'zi·i·‘dam wu'li·se‘nabe na'ga məzi·ge'gwus udlin‘ta''tun
I can say he is a good man and everything he can do
tawa'di·elu na'ga ta'u‘tolu" (then the delegate puts the
expert hunter and expert canoe builder."
wampum in the woman's lap) *"gi·zi·ndji·e‘we kəda'zi·demi·‘nena."*
"When you are ready you answer us."

Free Translation

We are come on an important and sacred errand, as it must be everywhere, because, whenever a young man commences to live, there surely comes time when he settles upon a woman to become his companion. So now one [young man] has settled upon your daughter. Now I can only say that our young man, Sable, is a good man. I never saw him in any wrong-doing. I can only say that he is a good man and can do everything. He is an expert hunter and canoe builder. . . . When you are ready, answer us.

The woman sat there, not touching the wampum until the delegate had gone out of sight. Then she put it down in some conspicuous place and sent a man out among the relatives to ask them to come and discuss the affair which had been presented to them for decision.

[1] In Newell Lyon's time from 150 to 200 beads were offered ordinarily, 500 in the case of a wealthy man. They were generally made into a necklace.

[2] In this case dual possession is denoted, *kədo'zal‘* "your daughter," if only one parent is living.

Thereupon the proposal was placed under consideration by the members of the girl's family both on the maternal and the paternal side. The discussion that took place was something in the nature of a character analysis of the suitor and the girl. A consideration of major importance, we are told, was the question of compatibility. The future happiness of the young people was the reason for this solicitude. The Indians seem to feel acutely that separation is apt to follow in cases where dispositions are not well matched. Family gatherings for such a purpose were regarded by those concerned as occasions of festivity. It was desired that all the living blood relations of the girl be on hand so that, in case an unfavorable answer to the proposal had to be rendered, all together would share the responsibility of offense in the eyes of the suitor's family. A good indication of this diplomacy appears in part of the speech accompanying the return of the wampum in case of refusal, as will be seen. The members who came were provided for by the girl's family. We are told, moreover, that the opinions of the girl's uncles, both maternal and paternal, were seriously weighed. An answer was generally awaited by the delegate if the decision could be made in a day or so. If, however, a longer time was required for consideration, the delegate would return and his clients would await the reply which in this case was carried by some delegate selected for the mission among the older members of the girl's family.

Should the girl's family accept the proposal, the following is an example of the speech which was made to the delegates.

Prologue; "*Nəwe'dji be'djo'ṣ'ek kəbe''dji·azi·de'mləbəna məzi·'*
"Wherefore come we have to answer you all
gwewelda'mena tɑnedu'dji· a'wen mə'gənɑt ni·zauzi·''hi·di·'djil
we know whenever anyone selects an own companion
tcu·''i·tc pebek'ha'me·lo wzam tɑnedu'dji· ki·''zi· ni·''zwak ki·zi·
it must be very careful because whenever have two have
ni·zwi·hi·''di·t tcui·''tc ni·zi·a'uwak tɑn gwenɑ'uzi·hi·'di·t nəwe'dji·
married it has to be living together for as long as they live therefore
tcu·''i· awe'n pe'bek'ha'me·'li·t we'dji·tc sɑn'kewi'dəhɑzit
it is necessary [for] anyone very careful so that [they be] contented in mind

t'e uli''dehɑzit'' (after this prologue comes the formal
and at the same time happy."

acceptance) *"Ni''kwup nɑkskwe'mɔna udalnɑ'bema ki''zi· mɛ'lɑk,*
"Now our girl her relatives have gathered,
nda''tɑmɑ be''sɔgo wuda'i·wun tɑ'nowa ke'gwus ne'mi·hɑt goski·no''-
not one there whatsoever anything has seen your young
smowal'. ke'gwali· awɔ'ba'la'lo'ke ni.''kwup kɔdli'ɑzide'mlɔbɔna
man anything so [in] wrong doing Now we give you a final answer
noli·dɔhɑ'mɑna ko'ski·no''smowal ki·lɔwa ni·''kwup a''yu kpɔ'd·inowak
we accept him, your young man you now it is in your hands
"think well of him"
tɑne'dudji· gi·''zɑdji·ek'w nɑtc ali''dɔbi·le e'li·tcuwe'ldamek'w."
whenever you are ready and then will take place whatever you wish."

Free Translation

Wherefore we come to answer you. We all know that whenever anyone selects his own companion for life, it must be done very carefully because, when two people marry, they must remain together as long as they live. Therefore it is necessary to be very careful so that the pair may be contented in mind and happy as well. . . . Now the relatives of our girl have gathered and not one there has seen anything whatsoever wrong in the behavior of your young man. Now we give you a final answer. We accept your young man. The matter is now in your hands. Whenever you are ready, what you wish may take place.

In the case of refusal the following rather peremptory speech came directly upon the heels of the prologue, accompanied by the return of the wampum.

"Gizimɛ''lɑk mɔzi·' nɑkskwe'mna udalnɑ'bemɑk ni·a be'sɔgo
"They have gathered all our girl her relatives I one
node'ldamɔn kɔdi''lɑnɑ a''tɑmɑ· mo'tcke be''sɔgo uli·dehɑ'mawial'
I am sorry to tell you not even one accepts him
ko'ski·no''smowal'. ni·''kwup kda''tcwi izɔho'lbɔna."
your young man. Now must we refuse you."

Free Translation

All the relatives of our girl have gathered. I, for one, am sorry to have to tell you that not even one accepts your young man! So now we must refuse you.

Then the messenger returned the wampum to the delegates, who conveyed it back to the family of the disappointed young man, or in the case of a longer parley, the same speech was sent by one of the girl's relatives. These speeches may typify the ancient proceedings.

It was not an unusual thing for the proposal to be repeated at a later time. In the event of a refusal then still another trial was not despaired of. The appeal of the third proposal, says tradition, was so strong an evidence of attachment that it was seldom refused. A silver crucifix, if sent with the wampum in such a case, was certain to insure the most favorable consideration.

We might naturally question, in view of the preceding facts, how far was the element of purchase involved in the use of wampum in proposals. Ostensibly the wampum accompanying the proposal functioned in its most simple elementary setting as a nuptial present, and to a certain extent as a documentary advocate: a symbol which speaks in the suitor's behalf where he was not present himself. The wampum in the negotiations was conceived of as a pledge of sincerity. There seemed not the slightest notion of purchase involved. Were the function of the beads, whether in loose bulk, strung, or woven in strips, a mercenary one, we should expect to hear that, in the subsequent repetitions of a proposal after refusal, the quantity presented by the suitor had to be increased to a point of satisfaction. The circumstantial evidences here do not point to commerce, and native testimony in the matter is fairly clear cut in the negative.[1] We learn, moreover, that if a girl were living with her uncle's family, even though her own father were alive, it was the uncle who kept the wampum in case of a proposal, not the father. It should be recalled to mind also that in the proposal ceremony the wampum comprised anything in respect to quantity from a few loose beads to a complete collar or belt. A large and beautiful wampum ornament could be bought in former days for about $2.00, knowing which, it would be rather far-fetched to entertain an idea of intrinsic valuation of the bride on such a basis.

After presenting this information it should be added that one of the belts discussed previously (pp. 22–23) as a documentary belt

[1] Concerning this phase of the wampum question among the Penobscot, Nicolar (*op. cit.*, 145) asserts, "It was never intended to be used as money. True there were many instances where it was exchanged for other things, yet the principal object was that it be used as a pledge of honor; say for instance whenever a person or persons wished their words to be taken honorably and give wampum with their word. This is sufficient to settle the matter desired. Matches for marriage were made by the old people and here the wampum was used as the pledge."

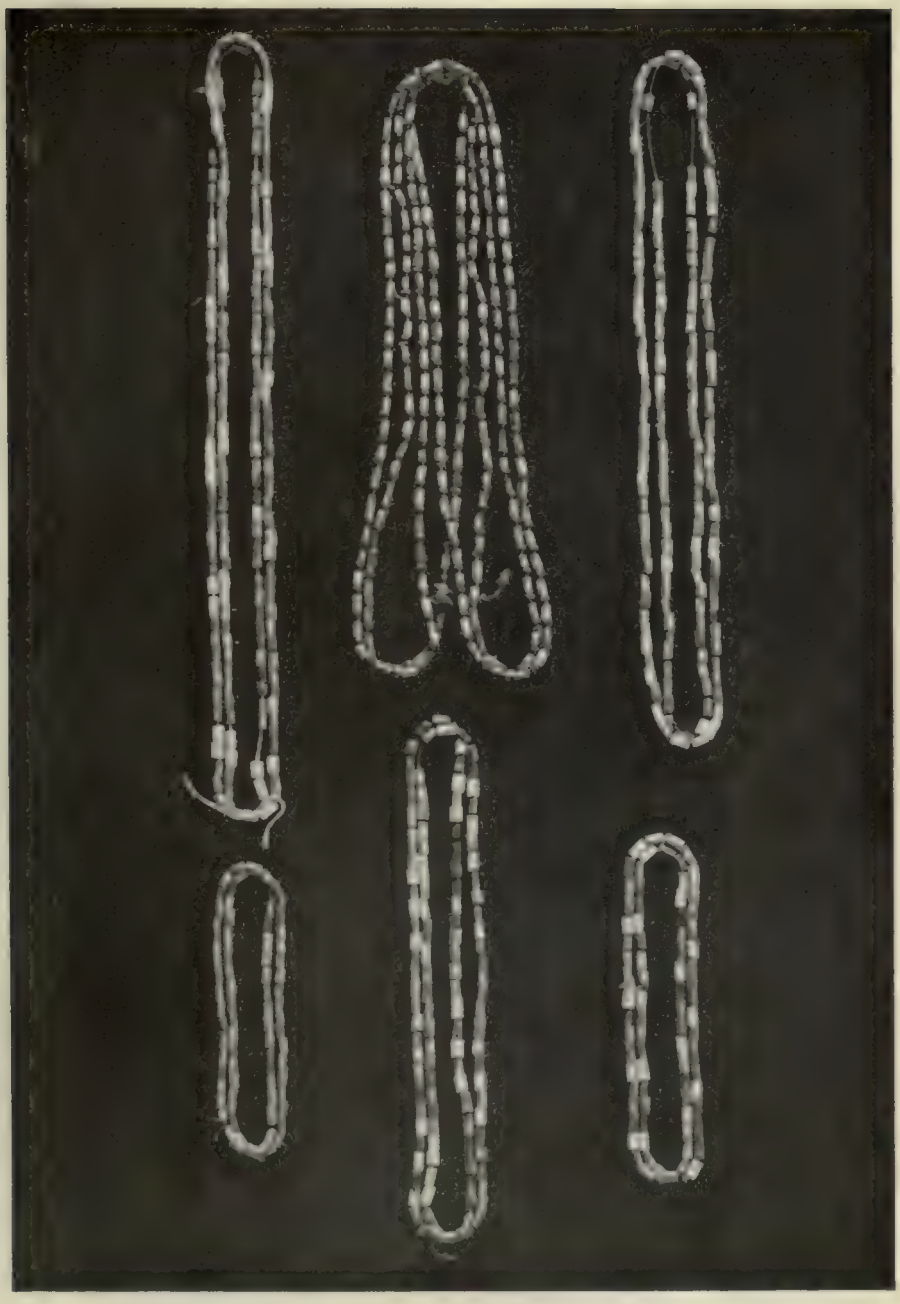
affords an example of how such articles in a subordinate function came to be used in conveying marriage proposals. A belt which is now in the New York State Museum at Albany is recognized by Gabe Paul[1] as the one which he employed in proposing marriage to the woman who became his wife. An idea of the transfers which such an article undergoes in the course of its life may be derived from the following facts concerning this belt which his memory furnishes. Originally, as has been pointed out, this belt must have served in some of the intertribal negotiations. After the dissolution of the Confederacy, passing from hand to hand, it came into the possession of old Joe Susep. Desiring to use it for a proposal of marriage, Gabe Paul bought it of him in 1892 for $2.50. It was sent by him in its ceremonial capacity to Julianne Newell, accompanied by a marriage proposal to her *protégée* Katlyn (Katharine) and accepted. She then kept the wampum. Again in 1902 it was bought by Sapiel Paul to be used in proposing to Jennie Shay. It was accepted by Lola Coley, who had adopted her, and kept by him. Gabe Paul subsequently bought it back for $30.00, and later (about 1906) sold it to W. C. Hill for $55.00.

Beauchamp in his monograph on wampum[2] figures and gives information concerning several Penobscot specimens used in proposing marriage. One of these, a straight woven belt, is said to have belonged to Molly Molasses, a former character in the tribe. The two other specimens of diagonally woven collars are said to have belonged to Mrs. Lizzie Nicola. One of them has sea shells on its border. Another such specimen in the American Museum of Natural History (fig. 1, *b*) is from the Penobscot. Its catalogue entry states that it was a "marriage belt . . . showing the figure of a man and woman in the middle, two crosses and four wigwams in white beads." (28 1–2″ by 1–4″.) The symbolism may be conjectured.

Other objective and historical information regarding the wampum may be added here from existing Penobscot sources though a

[1] A Malecite who has lived at Oldtown for 29 years.

[2] Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, pp. 429–30, pl. 26, figs. 278–279–280.



PENOBSCOT AND PASSAMAQUODDY WAMPUM STRINGS FROM THE MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, HEYE FOUNDATION. FROM LEFT TC RIGHT: A, 1-2807; B, 1-1234; C, 1-2807; D, 1-1234; E, 1-2374; F, 1, 2807

much larger series of instances would certainly be desirable. Several conclusions can be drawn, one very simple one that the wampum proposal persisted in general practice until a little more than a decade ago, another that the actual wampum material was ceremonial, not intrinsic, in character.

Passamaquoddy Proposal Wampum

In the case of the Passamaquoddy the symbolical nature of the wampum accompanying the proposal of marriage is even more pronounced. In this tribe there are several strings of wampum which are known to have been employed for many years as instruments of proposal.[1] The Passamaquoddy still to a certain extent retain the custom of proposing by wampum, and so in this connection occasion is offered for the discussion here of two reproductions of specimens of the wampum proposal story which seem to be valuable as contributions to our knowledge. Among the Passamaquoddy the observer is impressed by the indications of a considerable degree of conservatism.

Several reproductions of proposal strings were obtained for me by G. A. Paul at Pleasant point. While they are not actual specimens, they have some interest at least because they provide us with duplicate data. The first three loops (fig. 8) represent strings used in proposal, acceptance and refusal. The first (*a*) has two groups of two white beads near each end, representing the bride and groom-to-be. A pink ribbon is tied at one end, a dark blue one at the other. The pink symbolizes the happiness hoped for in the acceptance, the blue denotes the gloom to be felt in case of refusal. String (*b*) has a similar arrangement of the blue and white beads save that on each string a white bead is midway between the pairs of white ones near the ends. This signifies acceptance, the white beads midway representing the link of happiness. Here the ribbons are red, the color of good. String or loop (*c*) is small with only two white beads located as far apart as they can be placed. It denotes refusal of the offer, the symbolism representing the bride

[1] Mrs. W. W. Brown of Calais, Maine, is said by the older Indians to have made records of the function of these strings in the days when they were in frequent use. It would be very desirable to have this version of the material placed on record.

and groom to-be, asunder. It has only dark ribbons at its ends. Another specimen forms one large loop (fig. 9) with five sections separated by red, pink, and dark blue ribbons. The grouping of

FIG. 8.—Reproductions of Passamaquoddy wampum strings used in proposing marriage.

the colors of the beads is here similar to the preceding description, though not so regular. This string contains the symbolism of the

FIG. 9.—Reproduction of Passamaquoddy wampum used in marriage proposal ceremony.

whole procedure, the prologue, the proposal, the acceptance, the refusal, and the wedding dance ceremony at the conclusion. This string is explained as containing the whole speech to be delivered

by the delegates of the man. The reading of the string is commenced at the section where a piece of common white string is tied with the ribbon. In this specimen we strike a real case of mnemonic reading. The explanation of the sections of the loop is given in the quaint words of the informant. The First String (meaning section of the loop), "How the man wants a woman or a bride to be his wife." Second String, "These words I bring to you, that this young man wants your daughter to be his life's companion till death." (This is where the messenger makes his long talk.) "And these words—if you are willing to marry him, give us an answer." (Here the girl's family can consider the proposal and reach a decision.) Third String, "And this is where the whole body of relations are willing and give consent [for their daughter] to marry the young man." Fourth String, "And this is where they are not willing to marry." Fifth String, "This represents the big wedding dance [in the event of an acceptance.]"

The Ancient Rite[1]

It was the duty of the young Indian man who wished to marry to inform his parents of his desire, stating the name of the maiden. The young man's father then notified all the relatives and friends of the family that his son wished to marry such and such a girl. If the friends and relatives were willing, the son was permitted to offer his suit. The father of the young man prepared a clean skin of the bear, beaver, or deer, which he presented to his son. Provided with this the suitor went to the wigwam of his prospective bride's father and placed the hide at the back of the wigwam or *nowteh* (*nautek*, "at the rear"). The girl's father then notified his relatives and friends, and, if there was no objection, he ordered his daughter to seat herself on the skin as a sign that the young man's suit was acceptable. The usual wedding ceremonies were then held. . . .

The Marriage Ceremony in Later Days

After the adoption of the wampum laws the marriage ceremony was much more complicated. (Prof. Prince adds that Mitchell, the Indian informant, interpolated this remark.)

"When the young man had informed his parents of his desire to marry, and the father had secured the consent of the relations and friends, an Indian was appointed to be the *Kelollwet* or Marriage Herald who, taking the string of wampum called the *kelolwawei*, went to the wigwam of the girl's father, generally ac-

[1] J. Dyneley Prince, "The Passamaquoddy Wampum Records," *Proceedings American Philosophical Society*, vol. XXXVI, No. 156, pages 493–5.

companied by as many witnesses as cared to attend. The herald read the marriage wampum in the presence of the girl and her father, formally stating that such and such a suitor sought his daughter's hand in marriage. The herald, accompanied by his party, then returned to the young man's wigwam to await the reply. After the girl's father had notified his relatives and friends, and they had given their consent, the wedding was permitted to go on.

Among the neighboring and closely related Malecite the method of procedure was much the same as among the Penobscot, a fact which is borne out in several sources of information.[1] The wampum ceremony persisted until quite recently in this tribe. One occasion of the sort occurred in about 1902.[2]

Malecite informants tell us that proposals sometimes came from men of villages at quite a distance. Several cases were recalled of such visits between Kingsclear and Oromocto. Proposal wampum was even sent, as we know from one specific instance at least,[3] by a man to a girl with whom he was not even acquainted.

[1] W. H. Mechling, *Malecite Tales*, Anthropological Series No. 4, Geological Survey of Canada, 1914, page 25 (footnote 1).

"According to the old Indian custom, the bride and groom never saw each other. They take the *kluzwagin*, or wedding present, consisting of a blanket of beaver skin, or of some cheaper fur, and a string of wampum to the chief. The young man does not go himself, but sends a delegate—not his father, but some other relation. They go in company with another man, usually the second chief, to see the parents of the girl and leave a present. They talk the matter over, though it is never decided immediately. The father of the girl collects all the relations and they discuss the parentage, ability, and future prospects of the young man. If all is acceptable to them, the girl is informed and she can decide to accept him or not. If she refuses him, two men take the present back. If she decides to have him, two men are chosen as delegates to inform the young man. The girl's father keeps the *gluzwagin*. This consists of two parts, the first is a present, usually a string of wampum which is given to the father ceremonially. He keeps it until another young man in the tribe wants to get married who does the same as the young man in this instance. The second portion consists of furs or blankets and belongs to the girl's father. It was symbolic rather than real property. As a rule a second chief takes the wampum." The author presents his information on the procedure in terms somewhat too finite. Despite this and the vagueness of other references to persons it is clear that the process is of the same character as that of the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy. By *kluzwagin* (*gluzwagin*) is meant "speech" (Penobscot *gəlusəwa'ŋgan*, see page 39).

[2] Minnie Paul, daughter of Andrew Paul of the village at Kingsclear, N. B., received her proposal with a wampum collar which was sold by Gabe Paul to Mr. W. C. Hill in 1905, identified by Paul as the specimen shown in Beacuhamp's paper previously referred to.

[3] Illustrated by the case of Annie Paul, of Kingsclear, who died some years ago.

We have a further specific instance of a similar ceremony from another much less known tribe of this area. The Wawenock inhabiting Georges bay and Sagadahock bay, Maine, before their removal about the middle of the eighteenth century to Becancour, P. Q., were enclosed by tribes who made constant use of the wampum ceremonial of proposal. They employed it likewise. The ethnical position of the Wawenock seems to have been intermediate between the Penobscot, their northern and eastern neighbors, and the composite Abenaki bands along the coast on their west. On a study trip to Becancour I obtained an interesting specimen of Wawenock proposal wampum (fig. 7 *a*, *b*), probably the only one of its kind, consisting of several strings which were presented with a proposal of marriage by the grandfather of my informant, François Neptune, to his grandmother whose name was *Pabi·weləmα'l*, "On le croit petit." Neptune himself was about seventy years of age at the time of my visit to him, so one can judge from this as to the period of use. This wampum comprises one loop of dark beads of a size smaller than usual, about a span in length, and another loop of white beads about ten inches in length. The two together formed a proposal gift of extraordinary worth.

That the Abenaki of St. Francis at one time in their former history practised the proposal with wampum we know from a description of the procedure recorded by Maurault.[1] What he says is as follows:

> A young man who wishes to marry offers to the girl that he desires a bracelet, a belt, and a collar of wampum (*wanbôbi*, "white seed"). If the girl accepts these presents the two live together for awhile. After this trial, if the girl is pleasing to the young man, permanent marriage is celebrated. But if the girl does not please him he looses the presents and chooses a girl from another family. These unions were contracted in the presence of the chiefs and their parents.

The Abenaki of St. Francis, however, furnish at least one piece of testimony to show that, like the Passamaquoddy, in some previous period of their history they practised a simpler form of proposal in which wampum was not a necessary adjunct.[2] In the fol-

[1] J. A. Maurault, *Histoire des Abenakis*, p. 17.

[2] Maurault (*op. cit.*, p. 574) tells us that this form of proposal was adopted after 1760 though he does not assign a reason for the assertion.

lowing text, obtained some years ago, the traditional process of proposal contained no reference to wampum.[1]

Wa'dji· gada'wi· kəlu'ldi·mu`k do'ni· a'gwa wa'dji·
When one wants to propose marriage. When ever in order to
gada'wi· kulu'lowa`t wski·' a'lnomba` ni·'wi· gawos·a''
he wants to propose marriage young man at that time his mother
obi·tha'kali·`η ma·'ksa wi'gwomαk.*[2] *ni·'dαni· a'dju·li·da`mamαk
throws in blanket into the wigwam. Thereupon if they like him
ni·dji·' na'nawalda`mαna ma·ksa'' ni·ganowa' nda wali·damamα'k
then they accept blanket but if then not they like him
patagosadawanᾳ' ma·ksa''.
they give back the blanket.

The institution of proposal with wampum seems not to have attracted the attention of the earlier writers on the customs of the Micmac. Those who, like Denys, and Leclercq, do speak of marriage customs, fail to give any prominence to wampum as an instrument in the negotiations. This corroborates the results of ethnological inquiry today in the tribe which show that the procedure of proposal was about the same as among the other Wabanaki divisions except that the delegates to the parents of the girl delivered their errand without submitting the wampum document. Investigation on this point by the writer among the Micmac of Bear River, Truro and Sydney, Cape Breton, showed such to be the case. Rand, too, in his Micmac Legends[3] gives an account of a proposal in which no wampum was employed, thus adding a certain confirmation to the more recent testimony.

Common beads, however, are at least known to have played a minor part at times in the nuptial formalities of the Nova Scotia Micmac within the last forty years. Information elicited from a son of Abraham Toney, chief of the Yarmouth band, shows that the suitor, after his acceptance by the girl's family and the chief of the band, occasionally gave the girl a string of beads as a present.

[1] Narrated by Maude Benedict.

[2] The house of some desirable girl is meant, and the subsequent pronouns refer to the family of the girl. As was usual among the eastern Indians, the proposal was made through some intermediary, in this case the mother of the young man.

[3] S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 174.

RÉSUMÉ OF WAMPUM AMONG THE TRIBES OF SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND

(Mohegan, Pequot, Narragansett, Massachusetts, and Connecticut River divisions)

Among the following tribes whose habitat extended through southern New England, approximately from the Hudson northeastward to the Merrimac, we find, by reconstructing ethnological and historical fragments, that the function of wampum was quite many-sided. Chief among these tribal divisions, data is forthcoming concerning the Massachusetts, around Massachusetts bay, the Narragansett, of the Narragansett Bay region; the Mohegan and Pequot of the lower Thames river, the Nehantic, of Long Island sound near the mouth of the Connecticut river, and the people of the Housatonic region, later known as the Scatticook.

Briefly we may summarize the following uses assigned to wampum in this area; for ornamentation, as tribute, as a bribe for murder, as ransom for captives or as a compensation for crime, as a fine, as an urger to peace or as an incentive to war, as presents between friends, as a recompense for the services of shamans, as a means of proposing marriage, as conciliation for bereavement, and as the insignia of chiefs. In later times in southern New England wampum seems to have been employed primarily as tribute paid by subjugated tribes either to the Iroquois or to the colonists. Its earlier functions here were evidently closely similar to the simple ornamental function as among the northern New England tribes, the wampum phenomena becoming more complex and more Iroquoian in complexion as contact between the two groups developed.

In the following pages I have assembled, utilizing chiefly one or two comprehensive sources, a number of passages illustrating the functions of wampum among these southern New England divisions.

Concerning wampum in ornamentation certain historical sources have already been presented (pp. 18; 20, 21), which cover the area of southern as well as northern New England. So we may pass by the discussion of wampum in this capacity among the tribes just mentioned by referring back to the previous section of this paper.

Concerning the later political function of wampum as tribute in this region, we learn that Thomas Stanton in 1650 was commissioned to enumerate the conquered Pequot and to collect the arrears of tribute which had been levied upon them by the English. The next year, at New Haven, Ninigret's men paid 91 fathoms of wampum in behalf of the Narragansetts; the Long Island Pequot paid 32; Cassasinamon paid 56; while another brought 54 fathoms and promised to deliver the 30, which was still due from his band. Uncas for the Mohegans paid 79 fathoms down, and agreed to hand in the rest later. He then, with several others, demanded on behalf of the Pequot, why this tribute was required, and whether it would descend to the next generation. The Commissioners of Connecticut referred to the treaty of 1638, and said that the Pequot had been overcome in a war justly waged against them by the colony, and had consented to save their lives by paying a small annual acknowledgement. Tribute had not been paid for twelve years, the Commissioners claimed, but out of clemency, they would remit all that was past provided that the Pequot would pay regularly for the next ten years.[1] Incidentally we learn later that the Pequot made payments of tribute through 1663, which is thirteen years later instead of the ten agreed upon.

Tremendous quantities of wampum must have been in existence in those days, or else the terms of the agreements that we hear of were greatly exaggerated: for, in 1653, Hermon Garret paid 13 pounds, 3 shillings' worth of wampum to the English toward a settlement of his accounts; while Cassasinamon paid over 11 pounds' worth; the Pequot under Ninigret paid 8 pounds' worth, while Uncas paid ten.[2]

In 1655, the Pequot handed in more tribute, as follows: Paucatuc, 58 fathoms; Wecapaug, 37 fathoms; from Uncas, 143 fathoms.[3] Pequot tribute, it should be remembered, was paid by tribes to whom Pequot captives had been assigned by the colonists.

With the overthrow of the Pequot in 1638, the 200 survivors re-

[1] De Forest, "History of the Indians of Connecticut," Hartford, 1852, p. 243, quoting Hazard, "*Collection of State Papers*," vol. II, p. 188.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 244.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 346 and footnote.

maining in the hands of the English and the Indians were divided as follows: 80 to Miantonomo; 20 to Ninigret, both of them Narragansett; and 100 to Uncas. For these captives the chiefs were to pay annually a fathom of wampum for every man; half a fathom for every youth; and a hand for every male child.[1]

In 1658, a fine was levied upon some tribal confederates who had engaged in an attack upon the Mohegan, incidentally damaging the property of some English. This fine consisted of 40 fathoms of wampum, 10 from the Tunxis, 15 from the Pocomtock, and 15 from the Narragansett.[2]

Later, for various grievances brought against him by neighboring sachems, Uncas was fined 100 fathoms of wampum, part of which was to be paid to the English, and part to the servile Indians who had suffered at the hands of the Mohegan.[3]

As another instance of tribute wampum paid by one tribe to another, we learn that in 1651 Sequassen aroused the jealousy of Uncas because some rivals intended making a sachem of him and he had as yet refused to pay Uncas the acknowledgment of wampum which he owed him as his conqueror.[4]

As a somewhat more aboriginal procedure, we have occasional notice of wampum being employed as a means of inducing agents to commit murder. An instance of this occurs in the following episode. The Narragansett, having sought in various ways to cause the death of Uncas after their subjugation, sent a man to murder him. He had been paid with wampum. The attempt failed. When the would-be assassin was questioned, he said that his sachem, the Narragansett, had sent him to kill Uncas, and had offered him a large quantity of wampum. Having accepted this, he declared that he had spent it and thus placed himself in their power. Had he failed to fulfill his bargain, they would have slain him.[5]

In 1646, Sequassen, a chief of the bands on Connecticut river, was found to have proposed to an accomplice how he could murder

[1] De Forest, p. 160, quoting the *Rhode Island Historical Collection*, vol. III, p. 177.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 104.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 230, quoting Hazard, vol. II, p. 89.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

the governor and other authorities at Hartford, and then flee to the Mohawk with a store of wampum which would be given to him. "The sachem (Sequassen) drew out of his pouch three pieces of wampum and part of a girdle of the same material," which he gave to his accomplice, and promised him a great deal more.[1]

Even earlier, the unfortunate Pequot, for having murdered, in 1634, some English under Captain Stone, who had made depredations upon them, had to pay the English 40 beaver skins, 30 otter, and 400 fathoms of wampums. In addition they were obliged to allow the English the privilege of settling in their country. Moreover, in 1636, for the murder of John Oldham, the Pequot were obliged to furnish 6,000 fathoms more, and to give up some of their children.

As mentioned on the previous page, the Pequot tribute of 1663 consisted of 50 fathoms from Cassasinamon and 30 from Hermon Garret. An annual payment of 40 fathoms thereafter was decreed.

As the Pequot were under such heavy tribute, they seem to have been obliged to hunt widely for material out of which wampum could be made. Long Island seems to have been a favorite place for these excursions. In 1667, or thereabouts, the Montauk sachem of eastern Long Island commenced opposing the visits of the Pequot. Since the Montauk had been for some time tributary to the Pequot, paying not only shells but wampum itself, the Pequot complained before the court of the United Colonies that their ancient rights of supremacy over the Montauk had been violated. The Montauk sachem was ordered, as a consequence, to cease hindering the Pequot from gathering shells on Long Island.[2]

So much for wampum serving in the region as tribal tribute. Indemnity for murder often took the form of a wampum payment. For having murdered a white man in 1656, the Farmington Indians were forced to pay to the colony an annual fine of 80 fathoms of wampum for 7 years.[3] The Podunk of Connecticut river, in 1656, when found guilty of murdering a neighboring sachem, offered a quantity of wampum by way of satisfaction. Uncas, however, re-

[1] De Forest, p. 219.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 261, quoting Hazard, vol. II, pp. 387–388.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 263.

fused it, and actually wished the Podunk to give him six of their men to be put to death, in atonement.[1]

We have several instances of wampum having been used to ransom lives.[2] In 1644 the Narragansett held a council with representatives of the Mohegan at Hartford to conclude a peace between them. The former referred to a sum of wampum which had been agreed upon between them for the ransom of the Narragansett chief, Miantonomo, who had been captured and executed by Uncas. The Narragansett claimed that some of the wampum had already been paid, and that Uncas had acted faithlessly in putting his prisoner to death (quoting Hazard, vol. II, p. 25).

> Uncas flatly denied that any such ransom had been agreed upon; asserted that the wampum so sent was so inconsiderable in amount as to be totally inadequate for such a purpose, and that it had moreover been given away by Miantonomo in presents, either for the sake of obtaining favor or in return for favors received.[3]

In 1645 the Narragansett were forced by the colonists to agree to very severe terms of peace. They were ordered to pay to the colonists of Connecticut 2,000 fathoms of wampum "to indemnify them for the expenses which they had caused them" by persisting in fighting the Mohegan.[4]

An interesting but pathetic case of life ransom and extortion at

[1] De Forest, p. 250.

[2] Atoning for murder by paying wampum was a characteristic Iroquois institution. The Huron valued a man's life at "30 presents," a woman's at 40. For the murder of a stranger they asked more. A "present" meant at least 700 wampum beads (*Jesuit Relations*, 1548, p. 80–81). Morgan states that among the Iroquois 6 strings was the value of a life; Loskiel says, for the murder of a man 100 yards of wampum and for the murder of a woman 200 yards must be paid by the murdered. The Onondagas told Beauchamp ("Wampum and Shell Articles Used by the New York Indians," *Bulletin New York State Museum*, No. 41, vol. VIII, p. 641) that 20 strings of wampum atoned for a life. An author in the *Jesuit Relations* for 1642, p. 53, sums up the function of presents, including wampum presents among the Huron, as follows: "The presents among the peoples are all the affairs of the country: they dry the tears, they appease anger, they deliver prisoners, and revive the dead. Nothing is said as it were and nothing is answered but by presents. They make presents to animate men to war, to invite peace, to invite a family or nation to dwell near you, to satisfy those who have received any harm, especially if blood has been shed."

[3] De Forest, p. 212.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

the same time is noted in the year 1636, or thereabouts, when the Pequot complained to the colonial authorities that a ship had come into their harbor, inveigled one of their sachems aboard, and demanded a bushel of wampum for his life. Since there was no other remedy the Pequot furnished the ransom, and the white people kept their promise and sent the sachem ashore to them but not until they had slain him.[1] Aside from fulfilling its main purpose as a source of information on the subject of wampum, the significance of the historical material given in these pages cannot fail to impress the reader with an idea of the sort of justice which the Indians of New England received at the hands of their English neighbors.

Instances of wampum being employed in this region to obtain peace and as an incentive to war may be cited. In the former capacity we learn that on one occasion in 1634, when an embassy of Pequot was in Boston, a party of Narragansett planned to ambush them. The Pequot asked the English to offer the Narragansett a part of the present of wampum which they had just given the English, consisting of 400 fathoms.[2] On the other hand, in 1648, the Narragansett and Nehantic sent wampum to the Pocomtock of Deerfield urging them to attack Uncas. It seems strange to hear of life insurance practices among the aborigines of these days, but we learn, nevertheless, that Ninigret, the Narragansett chief previously mentioned, was accused of hiring some Pequot with wampum to fight against the Long Island Indians, and he was accused of paying, in addition to their wages, a certain sum to their relatives in case any of them were killed.[3]

Among the most typical aboriginal usages assigned to wampum we find mention of its being given as presents. In 1634 a Pequot messenger arrived at Massachusetts bay, bringing, according to the fashion of the Indian messengers, a present from his sachem, which he presented to Deputy Governor Ludlow. He laid down two bundles of sticks, indicating the number of beaver and other skins which the Pequot would give the English, and promised that

[1] De Forest, p. 95.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 80.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

they should be accompanied by a large amount of wampum.[1] He then demanded a league between his people and the English. Again we note that Miantonomo while the captive of Uncas received several packages of wampum, some of which he gave to Uncas, some to Uncas's wife, and some to his principal councillors, partly as thanks for courteous treatment and partly to persuade Uncas to put his case in the hands of the English. But, as has been mentioned before, the Narragansett later claimed that this wampum was given as a ransom.[2]

Citations of cases where wampum was paid to shamans for their services are as follows: In 1646, Uncas was accused by a colonist of having hired a Pequot conjuror for 15 fathoms of wampum to wound another Indian and then to charge the crime upon still another.[3] In 1651, Ninigret, a Narragansett, was accused of having sent a present of wampum to a distant sachem, asking him to send a man skillful in magic and poisoning, promising that when the conjuror had fulfilled the need he had for him, he would send him back with a present of 100 fathoms more.

The characteristic wampum proposal among the tribes of the Wabanaki group finds a parallel among the southern New England tribes in the mention of Trumbull,[4] "When an Indian youth wished to obtain a girl whom he fancied in marriage he made her presents of ornaments wrought in wampum, and if she accepted them it was considered as a pledge of betrothal. The consent of the sachem was then obtained: and he having joined their hands together, they were looked upon as husband and wife. In general, the husband seems to have obtained his wife of her parents, by making them a present of from five to ten fathoms of wampum."

As among the Iroquois, wampum was offered as a conciliation to those who had been bereaved. Some time during 1647, upon the death of one of Uncas's children, Uncas himself presented gifts of consolation to the mother, and at the same time ordered the sub-

[1] De Forest, p. 79.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 192.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 228.
[4] Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*, vol. 1, p. 38, quoted by de Forest, pp. 17–18.

jugated and enslaved Pequot, under threats, to do the same. Tassaquanot, however, a Pequot sachem, opposed this impost, observing that they had better give the wampum to the English to secure favor which would save them the trouble of caring about what Uncas wanted. Nevertheless, about 100 fathoms of consolation wampum were collected and given, as they had been ordered. Uncas was highly gratified, and promised that thenceforth he would treat them on an equality with his ancient subjects.[1]

Wampum in New England is frequently mentioned as the insignia of chiefs. King Philip is said to have had a belt which was nine inches broad reaching from his shoulders to his ankles made of "black and white wampum in various figures and flowers and pictures of many birds and beasts." He had two other belts, one with two flags upon the back, which hung from his head; the other, with a star upon the end, which hung from his breast.[2] When King Philip visited Boston he wore a coat and leggings ornamented with wampum and a broad belt of the same.[3]

Miantonomo is said to have beaten one of his sachems at Pomham and to have taken away his wampum, as a punishment for having submitted to the English. De Forest says that sachems and great men had caps and aprons wrought with beads, and that belts containing a greater quantity of wampum were worn, and that they were valued by the English colonists at eight and ten pounds sterling.[4]

Those who are acquainted with the well-known character of the Iroquois ceremonial wampum procedure will not need to be informed why the following account is introduced here. It shows how completely the Connecticut tribes had patterned their formalities in negotiation after the pattern of the Iroquois, with whom they, like the tribes of northern New England, were in political and geographical contact.

[1] De Forest, p. 230, quoting Hazard, vol. II, p. 89.

[2] C. C. Willoughby, "Dress and Ornaments of the New England Indians," *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. VII, no. 3, 1905, p. 508, quoting Drake, *History of Philip's War*, p. 142.

[3] Willoughby, *op. cit.*, quoting Josselyn, *Two Voyages to New England*, Veazie reprint, p. 100.

[4] De Forest, p. ii.

During the war of 1744 with France, Governor Clinton of New York, and a body of commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut, had an audience with the Scatacooks and River Indians, and made them an address calculated to either keep them at peace or engage them on the English side. They began, as is usual on such occasions, by styling the Indians neighbors and friends; expressing the pleasure which the governor and commissioners felt in seeing them, and declaring that they should henceforth look upon them as their very near relations. After these compliments, they said that they had spoken with the Six Nations, and now came to speak with them: that it was a very proper time to brighten the chain of peace; for the French, without any cause, had just begun a war on the English: that the latter might therefore want the assistance of their good friends and brothers, the Scatacooks and River Indians: and that, when a convenient time arrived, they would make them such a present as would be suitable to the circumstances. Such was the substance of a speech delivered by one of the commissioners. On the next day the Indians made the following reply:

"Fathers of the Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut. We are glad to see you here, and we bid you welcome. We are inclined to live in peace and love with these three governments and all the rest of his Majesty's subjects.

"Fathers: we are very glad that we are all united in one covenant chain; we are resolved that it shall not rust, and will therefore wind it with beaver skins.

"Fathers: we are ready to promote good things; and what our uncles, the Six Nations, have promised we will readily concur in on our part.

"Fathers: you are the greatest, and you desire us to stay at home, which we promise to do, and we hope that no harm will come to us.

"Fathers: we are united with the Six Nations in one common covenant, and this is the belt which is the token of that covenant.

"Fathers of Boston and Connecticut: whatever you desired of us yesterday we engaged to perform; and we are very willing to keep and cultivate a close friendship with you; and we will take care to keep the covenant chain bright.

"Fathers: you are a great people and we are a small one; we will do what you desire, and we hope you will take care that no harm come to us."

The Indians then presented a belt of wampum and three martin skins.[1]

Another example of imitation of the Iroquois message belt appears in a historical notice dated 1720. A belt of wampum arrived from the south, reached Greenwich, and, ultimately, New Milford, Conn., betokening that at each place where it was accepted captive Indians would be received and sold.[2]

The most recent occasion noted in historical annals when wampum could have been used seriously by the Mohegan, or when it

[1] *Indian Papers*, vol. 1, Document 262, quoted by de Forest, *op. cit.*, pp. 411–413.

[2] De Forest, p. 349.

could have been sent to them from the outside, is when the Stockbridge Indians of Massachusetts, in 1755, sent a messenger to the Mohegan to wake them up and induce them to join the Mohawk and Stockbridge against the French and Indians of Canada.[1] It may be inferred that this messenger in accordance with the customs of the day carried a wampum testimonial.

The only surviving specimens of native wampum among the southern New England tribes today comprise, so far as I have been able to discover, a necklace of blue wampum beads possessed by a daughter of the late Mrs. Mary Baker of Mohegan, who, in her girlhood, remembered seeing a belt in the hands of some of the old Mohegan, which she said seemed long enough to have reached from a man's shoulders to the ground. The necklace spoken of is a simple string of beads alternating with gold beads. The beads, it was thought, might have been relics from the belt just mentioned. Several wooden bowls in the collections of the Historical Society of New London, Conn., contain white wampum beads inserted like a mosaic in the handles. Willoughby has figured one of these bowls in a recent article.[2]

From Miss Cynthia Fowler of Mohegan the writer obtained thirteen blue cylindrical beads (fig. 7 *c*) which bear the evidences of having been smeared with red ochre. Nothing is known of the history of these beads except that they may have originally belonged to the aforementioned Mohegan belt. Four beads from the same source were obtained by me a number of years ago for Mr. George G. Heye. One can hardly imagine, in conclusion, what has become of the stupendous quantities of wampum formerly made and owned by the southern New England tribes.

My conclusions based upon an interpretation of the facts given here are that the manufacture of the cylindrical or so-called "council" wampum was an original achievement of the Algonkian who lived along the New England coast. The original motive of manufacture, it seems to me, was primarily for ornamentation along

[1] De Forest, p. 449.

[2] C. C. Willoughby, "Wooden Bowls of the Algonquian Indians," *American Anthropologist*, vol. x, no. 3, 1908, plate 27, p. 428.

the northern portion of the coast. It served as a medium of exchange and indemnity as well as for ornamentation in southern New England. With the expansion of the Iroquois in the seventeenth century, and their acquisition of modern tools from the Europeans, wampum manufacture must have been greatly facilitated and perfected.[1] This industrial growth, contemporaneous with the extension of the Iroquois league, brought bead material into the hands of the Iroquois, who, through their political genius, soon conceived a more complex function for the wampum than it had hitherto known, and created a system of mnemonic record keeping and symbolism. The development seems subsequently to have spread throughout the eastern Algonkian tribes and deepened among the Iroquois themselves. This accounts for the abundance of both the wampum itself and the elaborate ceremonials which we hear of in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries existing among practically all of the northeastern tribes.

Among ceremonial functions, however, requiring wampum, one should not be overlooked as a probable aboriginal Algonkian custom. This was the use of wampum as a means of proposing marriage. This custom prevailed formerly among most of the eastern Algonkian tribes, and, by contrast, is not characteristic of the Iroquois. Indeed, marriage wampum survived with more persistency into modern times among these tribes than the association wampum functions. The latter, it seems, depended for their maintenance upon the survival of native political life.

Historical Perspective

In this essay an endeavor has been made to present a systematic survey of our knowledge of wampum in the northeastern region from early times to the present, and on the basis of this information to determine what was its earliest assignable function, and, finally,

[1] Cf. C. C. Willoughby, "Dress and Ornaments of the New England Indians," *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. VII (1905), p. 507. Willoughby refers to the growth of the wampum industry after the natives had obtained European tools. He expresses the same opinion, "There seems to be little evidence that the smaller tubular shell beads of the variety known as wampum were made to any extent by the New England natives previous to the seventeenth century."

to trace the source from which wampum ceremonials may have been derived. A summary of our findings may now be juxtaposed to the queries.

Assuming that the formation of the League of the Iroquois provided an origin for most of the ceremonials involving the use of wampum, a date may be roughly assigned from which to trace the diffusion of wampum ceremonials in the neighboring area of the northeast. We have reason to regard, on good authority, the Iroquois League to have been founded during the last quarter of the sixteenth century or about 1570.[1] In the chronicles of the League of the Iroquois we do not encounter reference to the Wabanaki alliance, although the other Algonkian and Siouan confederates (Delaware, Nanticoke, Mohican, Missasauga, Tutelo and Saponi) are well known.[2] If we view the formation of the Wabanaki confederacy as an event dating back no earlier than to a period subsequent to the establishment of the Iroquois at Caughnawaga (1668–1676)[3], our difficulty on this point dissolves, since it was only with the Caughnawaga Christians and their allies, which formed independent groups alienated from the League, that the Wabanaki confederacy was concerned.

[1] J. N. B. Hewitt is the authority for this estimate, which he gives in several papers. "The Requickening Address of the League of the Iroquois," *Holmes Anniversary Volume*, Washington, 1916, p. 163; and "Some Esoteric Aspects of the League of the Iroquois," *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Congress of Americanists*, Washington, 1915, p. 322, and *Handbook of the American Indians*, vol. 1, p. 618.

Earlier estimates have come to be discredited. Several guesses by other writers have to be disregarded, for instance, 1390, cf. *Traditional History of the Confederacy of the Six Nations*, prepared by a Committee of Chiefs, presented by D. C. Scott, Roya Society of Canada, 1912, pp. 196, and 1400–1450, Lewis H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (New York, 1878), p. 126 (estimate based partly on Indian testimony).

[2] The lack of mention of the Wabanaki caused some surprise in the mind of David Boyle. Cf. *Archæological Report of Ontario*, 1905, p. 151. "Now the remarkable thing about all this is the total want of allusion in Huron-Iroquois myth or folk-lore or historic tradition to the Wabanaki peoples, on the one hand, and the frequent references to the Iroquois . . . by the Wabanakis on the other."

[3] This band, under the influence of the Jesuits, became permanently dissociated from the League of the Iroquois. Though several futile attempts were made to induce them to return, they were finally renounced in 1684. The Iroquois settlement at Lake of Two Mountains, known also as Oka, and Kanesatake "on the hillside" (from which the Wabanaki designative for this band is derived) was founded in 1720 by Catholic Iroquois from Sault au Récollet (cf. *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. II, p. 112).

Next, in seeking for a point in the history of the contact between the Wabanaki and the Iroquois from which to trace the acculturation of the confederacy idea and the associated wampum functions among the northeastern tribes, we find some trustworthy indications. In 1700 the hostility which had prevailed between the Iroquois and the Wabanaki divisions for a century[1] came to an end in the treaty of peace between all the tribes concerned as far west as the Ottawa, confirmed on August 4, 1701. It seems reasonable to infer that the Wabanaki-Iroquois alliance came into existence at the opening of this era of peace.

Judging by what relatively little positive information we possess at this time, it develops that wampum functions were more elaborate among those Wabanaki whose territories lay in closer proximity to the Iroquois, and that military political functions were more general in the whole area than others. These indications harmonize not a little with the expectations in such a case as that which we are considering, where an organized progressive culture came to bear upon the frontiers of a cruder nomadic people.

With some idea, then, of their original source, several institutions which became conventionalized with the formation of the League and which were recorded later in the surrounding Algonkian region, may be regarded as culture loans from the League by transfer through the Iroquois of Caughnawaga to the Wabanaki. One of these is the use of "wampum as legal tender of a prescribed price of the life of a man" which Hewitt gives as one of the fundamental practices put in force by the League. Twenty strings of wampum was the payment for homicide. On page 59 of this paper is given certain information under this heading (payment for compounding murder) from the region of southern New England, dating from about the period 1656. Here, evidently, is a plausible case

[1] Cf. P. Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. III, pp. 371–373. *Jesuit Relations*, 1662, pp. 1–2. Maurault, *Histoire des Abenakis*, p. 157, and 160–1. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, vol. I, p. 12–14. Wabanaki Mythology, it may be added, is replete with undated references to events in the Iroquois wars. Only one of these, so far as I know can, be even approximately assigned to a date. In this case an Abenaki story of an encounter with the Iroquois at *Wdɑ'psɑk*, "Place of the Skull," seems to be the native version of an event recorded by Maurault, supposed to have taken place in 1695. (Cf. Maurault, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–231.)

of an Iroquois culture loan. The practice, however, did not seem to have reached the more distant Wabanaki region, another reason lending confirmation to the assumption of a recent Iroquoian source.

One of the most important of the Iroquois ceremonials is that of condolence for a deceased chief and the ceremony of installation of his successor, a type ceremony accompanied by the use of wampum. In an abbreviated form the practice occurs as a leading political institution accompanied by a ceremony with wampum in their confederacy life of all the Wabanaki tribes (see p. 38).

The complete development of negotiatory wampum among the Iroquois finds its weaker analogue among the Wabanaki from 1690 on through the transition period.

Minor homologies are to be found in the similarity of symbolical designations for wampum, as "speech," "word," and the like (see p. 39) and its occurrence in similar themes of mythology, the wampum bird, wampum raiment, wampum falling from the mouth or pipe (see p. 9 *et seq.*).

Now, according to the usual rulings of methodology, cases like the foregoing where a culture feature, possessed as an intense development by a group of highly organized tribes, is found in a similar but abridged form among subordinate neighboring tribes of a cruder social complexion, the assumption of the latter's derivation from the former is assured when, in addition, the chronological test substantiates it.

Two aspects of the wampum problem, however, remain to be dealt with. One of these, the function of wampum as ornament, stands forth as a common property characteristic of both Iroquois and Algonkian. Archaeological and historical evidences seem to point to this the simplest and least involved function, as perhaps the earliest function of the beads (see pp. 18–21). Furthermore, the center of importance is where we expect to find it, among the Algonkian, the less complicated peoples. The other of the two latter functions is where wampum serves as a means of marriage proposal. Here the process seems to alter. We may conclude from the present

[1] J. N. B. Hewitt, *Some Esoteric Aspects of the League of the Iroquois*, p. 323.

facts that the Iroquois did not actually originate the wampum proposal ceremony.[1] For such was their fixed tendency to employ wampum in ceremonials, that, if they had had the custom, it would probably have been retained. Hence, since it is difficult to see how the practice could have been borrowed from the Iroquois, we are left with the theoretical alternative of viewing it as a local development among the western Wabanaki tribes.[2] It may, moreover, be pronounced as a relatively recent acquisition among those practising it, since we have references to an earlier period when wampum was not employed for proposal (see p. 54). This function, then, seems to be a local feature resulting from contact stimulation by the Iroquois after the adoption of other wampum ceremonial procedures. A reason for this may be found in the relatively greater social importance of the rites of marriage among the Wabanaki than among the Iroquois. The prediction might accordingly not be too illogical that if the automatic progress of native culture forces had not been checked by European influence, the wampum proposal ceremony would have continued spreading eastward, reaching in time the Micmac.

We should not overlook the fact, at some point in our investigation, that wampum never seems to have become associated with

[1] The existing records available, so far as I can learn, disclose relatively few instances where wampum was used by the Iroquois in the proposal of marriage. A string in the Museum of the Geological Survey of Canada, collected by Dr. Sapir at the Six Nations Reserve, Ohsweken, is designated as "something like a wedding gift" which is given to the bride's parent. The specimen is a loop containing 34 dark beads. In the same collection is a similar loop of 30 dark beads concerning which Dr. Sapir kindly furnishes the following information:

III, I, 323. String of blue wampum. This string is to be used by a widow who sends it as a proposal to the man she wishes to marry. If he keeps the wampum, it means that he is willing to marry her. The widower can also propose in the same way by means of this wampum string. The characteristic symbolism in the string consists of the blue colors of the beads and the fact that there are thirty of them. When one is to be married for the first time, it is the parents of the boy or girl who send a string of fifteen wampum beads with alternating blue and white color. Onondaga name—*guniyák'l'a'ᵃ ul'gúe'ᵉ* (marriage wampum). Obtained from Chief Gibson by E. Sapir March, 1912.

Beauchamp, in his monograph on Iroquois Wampum, does not list this function among those known to the Iroquois.

[2] It has been shown (p. 55) that the Micmac are the only people of the group who lack the wampum proposal.

some culture features which, in the life of the northeastern tribes, may be very fundamental ones. For instance, we know of no cases where wampum entered into medicine practice as a charm or curative agency,[1] nor does it become concerned with shamanism, except locally in southern New England where we hear of it as a payment for professional service.[2] It does not serve any purpose in gaming practices. Such negative considerations seem to lend color to the idea of the recent development of wampum functions among the tribes in question.

As representing the writer's impression of relative importance and distribution, the following tabulation of the features of usage is offered.

Iroquois and Huron	Delaware and Southern New England Algonkian	St. Francis Abenaki and Wawenock	Penobscot	Malecite and Passamaquoddy	Micmac
Negotiatory Belts, Peace, War, Death Messages.	Similar	Similar	Similar	Similar	Similar
"Speech" Symbolism and Synonymy.	Similar	Similar	Similar	Similar	Similar
Ransom.	Similar	Similar	———	———	———
Money.	Similar (Southern New England)	———	———	———	———
Chief's Condolence ceremony with wampum.	Similar	Similar	———	———	———
Marriage Proposal with wampum unusual.	Unusual	Marriage proposal with wampum after 1700	Similar to preceding	Similar to preceding	———
Mythical Associations, Wampum Bird, Beads, falling from mouth, etc.	———	Similar	Similar	(?)	———
Wampum as Ornament (only secondary in later times).	Wampum important as ornamentation	Similar to preceding	Similar to preceding	Similar to preceding	Similar to preceding

[1] Mr. F. W. Waugh, of the Geological Survey of Canada, informs me that one medicinal specimen is known to him among the Iroquois. This is a string of purple wampum beads worn tightly around the neck for goitre according to Jim Davis, a Cayuga, of the Grand River reserve.

[2] See page 62 of this paper.

NOTES ON REINDEER NOMADISM

BY

GUDMUND HATT

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Introduction

DR. Laufer's paper "The reindeer and its domestication"[1] represents a considerable advance within the study of reindeer nomadism. The question of the origin and history of this culture-form has not been treated before so fully nor elucidated through such a wealth of facts. His discussion of the Chinese historic sources, bearing upon reindeer breeding, is of great importance; and, being a sinologue, he was better qualified for this task than perhaps any other student of reindeer nomadism. Another point of a special value is his demonstration of the misunderstanding which lies at the bottom of the story about the reindeer-riding Samoyed of the fifteenth century. On the other hand, in his treatment of the early history of reindeer nomadism in Scandinavia, Laufer has not been very successful; this may be due, perhaps, to a lack of acquaintance with the considerable Scandinavian literature on the subject. Another drawback is his disregard of the biology of the reindeer; this neglect impairs seriously the value of his theories about the origin of reindeer-domestication. And furthermore, he has not been aware of the fact that the geographical distribution of the cultural elements of reindeer nomadism makes it possible to determine the relative age of these elements—a fact of the greatest importance in an attempt to trace the evolutionary history of reindeer nomadism.

Reindeer nomadism has interested me through a number of years. My present notes are not merely a discussion of Laufer's paper; they contain my own ideas upon the subject.

On the Relative Age of the Cultural Elements of Reindeer Nomadism.

A comparative study of reindeer nomadism discloses two important groups of facts. *A*. We find that certain cultural elements

[1] *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, vol. IV, no. 2 (1917).

are distributed all over the area of reindeer nomadism; among these elements, inherent in all reindeer nomadism, are castration by biting,[1] marking of the reindeer's ear,[2] use of the lasso, use of the highest developed type of snowshoe (the ski), use of human urine or salt as means of attracting and taming the deer. *B*. On the other hand, some cultural elements have a more restricted distribution, not covering the whole area of reindeer nomadism, *e. g.*, reindeer riding, reindeer driving, methods of slaughtering, milking, and methods of using the milk. Any theory of the origin and spread of reindeer nomadism ought to explain both *A* and *B*. The features mentioned under *A* may suggest a common origin of all reindeer nomadism; the facts under *B* are fully as important, however, and a discussion of them is bound to throw light upon the history of reindeer nomadism.

Reindeer riding is not practised by all reindeer nomads. The Tungus, Yukaghir, Soyot, and Karagas ride the reindeer; the Koryak and Chukchi do not (except in a few cases where Tungusian influence is evident) ride the reindeer, neither do the northern Samoyed, the Ostyak, nor the Vogul. When Hahn states that the Samoyed in earlier days used to ride on reindeer-back, this opinion, based upon a passage in Lehrberg's "Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der älteren Geschichte Russlands," is quite erroneous, as Laufer has demonstrated (p. 96–99). Indeed, the German text is not at all clear;[3] it would be impossible to discern the true meaning

[1] The Soyot are the only reindeer-breeding tribe of which it is asserted that castration is not used; cf. Ørjan Olsen, *Et primitivt folk* (Kristiania, 1915,) p. 67. Olsen also states that the lasso is not used by the Soyot in reindeer-tending (p. 57). These statements, like some others in Olsen's book, are so remarkable that it would be desirable to have them confirmed by other observers.

[2] The Yakut are the only reindeer-breeders who do not mark the reindeer's ear; the Yakut owner's mark is branded with red hot iron seals on the hind quarters of the reindeer (cf. W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Jesup Expedition, vol. VI, p. 492). This method has evidently been derived from that of marking horses and horned cattle with iron seals. Among the Ostyak-Samoyed near the river Tas, marking of the reindeer's ear is not used, and here it seems that this practice would not be of much use, as the region is so sparsely inhabited that the different herds of tame reindeer become very seldom mixed. Cf. Kai Donner, *Bland Samojeder i Sibirian*, (Helsingfors 1915), p. 172.

[3] "Aus Läpina zogen den Russen jugrische Fürsten auf Rennthieren entgegen. Sie waren von Obdor gekommen. . . . Wie es scheint, schlossen die jugrischen Fürsten

without access to the Russian document upon which Lehrberg's account is based. I think Lehrberg ought to have the blame for Hahn's mistake. Without doubt, Laufer is right in asserting that the meaning of the corresponding passage in the original Russian document is simply that the Yugrian princes and the Russian chiefs traveled on sledges drawn by reindeer. Among the Lapp, children may occasionally take a ride for fun on a reindeer's back; and when traveling, the younger children may ride on the back of a tame pack-reindeer, as I have witnessed.[1] No Lappish riding-saddle is known, however, and a grown-up Lapp would never think of using the reindeer for riding. Indeed, the reindeer of Lapland are too frail for use as riding animals. This also seems to be the case with the reindeer of the Samoyed tundra and of the Chukchi and Koryak country. It would, however, not be correct to regard this as the sole cause of the limited distribution of the custom of riding on reindeer-back. Associated with reindeer riding is the use of the reindeer as a pack-animal; this custom is universal among the reindeer riders of Siberia, and the packsaddle is closely related to the riding saddle. There is no reason why the tundra reindeer should not be able to carry packages on his back—and still, neither the Samoyed nor the Chukchi and Koryak use the reindeer for that purpose. The nomadic Samoyed and Ostyak use the reindeer sledge not only in winter, but also in summer, driving over the level, mossy tundra.[2] The Chukchi and Koryak herdsmen have to carry their necessaries along with them on their backs in summer,[3] and they have evidently no idea of using the reindeer as a pack-animal, although they are fine reindeer drivers. Curious enough, the Lapp use the reindeer for carrying burdens in summer, when the snow has left the ground; but it would certainly be quite erroneous to assume any connection between this Lappish custom and the Tungusian

von Obdor sich mit an die Russen; Läpina wurde erobert, und von hier zogen die Woiwoden auf Rennthieren weiter, das Heer auf Schlitten mit einem Anspann von Hunden." (Lehrberg, *Untersuchungen*, etc., St. Petersburg, 1816, p. 17.)

[1] Cf. also Emilie Demant Hatt, *Med Lapperne i Højfjeldet* (Stockholm, 1913), p. 185.

[2] Cf., *e. g.*, O. Finsch, *Reise nach West-Sibirien* (Berlin, 1879), p. 457 and fig. 39.

[3] W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. VI, p. 475. W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. VII, p. 83.

or Soyotian use of the reindeer as a pack-animal, for the Lappish packsaddle is absolutely unique, its construction having nothing in common with the packsaddle of the Tungus or Soyot, nor with the horse packsaddle used by the Scandinavians.[1] Accordingly, there seems to be reasons for assuming that the Lappish packsaddle is due to a local development. On the other hand, the Tungusian and Soyotian packsaddle and riding saddle[2] show a significant

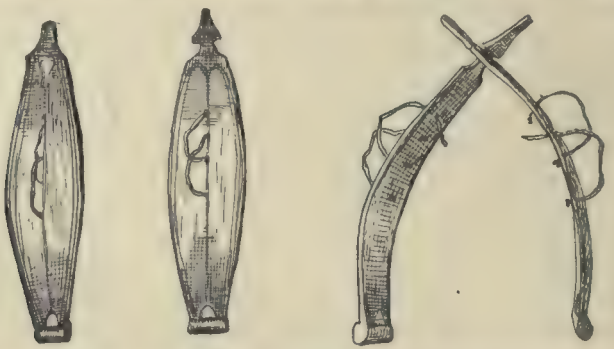

FIG. 10.—Lappish pack-saddle (*svaekka* or *spakka*), consisting of two curved boards (length 55 cm.) which are joined by means of a sort of dove-tail construction over the back of the deer and connected by means of a strap beneath the animal's belly. Through small holes near the middle line of the boards narrow strips of skin are put forming loops which serve in attaching front and rear straps for holding the saddle in place. A reindeer skin or blanket is spread under the boards to prevent their chafing the deer and the packages are hung upon the projecting upper ends of the boards.

resemblance to horse saddles used by nomads of Turkish and Mongolic stock.[3] This resemblance is one of the facts which support

[1] The Lappish packsaddle consists of two curved narrow boards joined by a sort of dove-tail construction over the back of the deer and connected by means of a strap beneath the animal's belly; a reindeer skin or a blanket is spread under these boards to prevent their chafing the deer, and the packages are hung upon the projecting upper ends of the boards. As illustrations of the Lappish packsaddle are rather scarce, I insert a sketch here. In case of emergency a pair of birch twigs may be employed instead of the boards; this expedient I found in use among the Karesuando Lapp of northern Sweden.

[2] Cf. Illustrations of Tungusian saddles on pp. 1276 and 1489 in Middendorff's *Reise in den äussersten Norden und Osten Sibiriens*, vol. IV, and descriptions and illustrations of Soyotian reindeer saddles in Ørjan Olsen's *Et Primitivt Folk*, pp. 71–76.

[3] Cf., *e. g.*, W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* (Leipzig, 1884), vol. I, pl. VII, horse saddles used by the nomads in Altai.

the assumption that the Siberian use of the reindeer as a riding and pack-animal is due to a culture loan which reindeer nomadism owes to more southern forms of nomadism.

As to reindeer driving, Bogoras[1] and others have observed that the reindeer harness is of the same general type everywhere; local variations occur, especially with regard to the mode of placing the harness upon the reindeer and the mode of attaching the animal to the sledge, but the same fundamental type of reindeer harness is found from Lapland to the Chukchi peninsula. Interesting as this fact is, illustrating the uniformity of reindeer nomadism, we must not forget that not all reindeer nomads use the reindeer for draught. The Soyot and Karagas do not practise reindeer driving at all; and of the Tungus, a part only are reindeer drivers. Schrenck[2] asserts even that the only Tungus practising reindeer driving are the Oroki of Saghalin who, according to Schrenck, had gotten the idea from the dog driving of the Gilyak. On the northern tundra, however, between Kolyma and Lena, the Tungusians have in some cases adopted reindeer driving.[3] The main body of Tungusian reindeer nomads do not practise reindeer driving.

Typical reindeer drivers are the Lapp, Samoyed, Ostyak, Vogul, Koryak, and Chukchi. Typical reindeer riders are the Soyot, Karagas, and Tungus. Both reindeer riding (in summer) and reindeer driving (in winter) are practised by some northern Tungusians, the reindeer breeding Yakut, the Yukaghir, and even by a few Chukchi and Koryak who live in close proximity to the Tungus.[4]

Accordingly, reindeer riding and reindeer driving have their areas of distribution partly overlapping, yet quite distinct. The area of reindeer riding thrusts wedge-shaped into the area of reindeer driving. This peculiar form of distribution gives support to the opinion set forth on historical grounds by Laufer (p. 118), that reindeer driving is an older form than reindeer riding.

That reindeer riding was first practised by "a tribe that had gained some experience with horses" (Laufer, p. 140) is confirmed

[1] *The Chukchee* (Jesup North Pacific Expedition), vol. VII, p. 88.

[2] Leopold v. Schrenck, *Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande*, vol. III, pp. 492–495.

[3] W. Jochelson, *The Koryak* (Jesup North Pacific Expedition), vol. VI, p. 477.

[4] W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 475.

by the fact mentioned above, that the reindeer saddle bears a fundamental similarity to the horse saddle of the Altai people. The question lies close at hand: Is it possible to find similar indications of the culture-form to which reindeer nomadism owes the reindeer harness?

If it might be proven that the reindeer harness had originated from southern sources, this would be a strong argument in favor of Laufer's theory, that the older method of using horses and oxen for drawing vehicles was simply transferred to the reindeer (Laufer, p. 118). Such a proof can hardly be produced, however. Carts drawn by horses or oxen were certainly used early by the steppe nomads; the large vehicles seen by Rubruck in the middle of the thirteenth century on his voyage to Karakorum[1] were probably only in size very different from the Kalmuk carts pictured by Pallas late in the eighteenth century.[2] But the difference between the Kalmuk horse harness, as pictured by Pallas, and the reindeer harness is so fundamental, that any close historical relation between them seems quite out of question.

On the whole, it seems difficult to produce any valid grounds for the theory that reindeer driving arose in imitation of horse or ox driving. That stags are placed on an equality with horses and oxen as draught animals, in Huei Shen's fantastic account of Fusang, does not give any support at all to the theory; and the coexistence of the reindeer with horses and oxen in the Baikal region would be of value for the theory only if it could be shown that reindeer driving contained elements borrowed from horse or ox driving.

Much easier is it to adduce grounds for assuming that reindeer driving arose in imitation of dog driving. Laufer admits (p. 138) that

> the ethnographical facts well warrant the conclusion that the reindeer-sledge is based on the dog-sledge, and that reindeer-driving sprang into existence as a perfectly conscious and volitional imitation of driving with dogs—

[1] *The Journey of William Rubruck.* Transl. and ed. by Rockhill. Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd. ser., vol. IV, pp. 53–57.

[2] Pallas: *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften* (St. Petersburg, 1776), vol. I, pl. I.

without noticing, it seems, the contrast between this statement and the theory put forward on p. 118, that reindeer driving arose in imitation of horse and ox driving. The ethnographic realities which suggest a connection between reindeer driving and dog driving are, however, not confined to the sledge. In fact, the similarity of reindeer and dog sledges would not by itself serve as sufficient evidence of reindeer driving's evolutionary dependence upon dog driving; someone might perhaps try to combine Laufer's diverging theories by assuming that the reindeer had been used for driving before it ever was put to a vehicle of the dog-sledge type. As a matter of fact, not all reindeer sledges have their dog-sledge equivalent; the Lappish sledge type is never used with dogs. Another part of the outfit used in reindeer driving, namely the harness, is of very much greater importance for our problem.

As shown above, proofs of the reindeer harness having been borrowed from horse or ox driving are not at hand. But if we study the types of dog harness, used in northern countries, we shall find that a certain type of dog harness, formerly widely distributed in eastern Siberia, bears a striking likeness to the reindeer harness.

W. Jochelson has made a thorough study of the different types of dog harness.[1] He distinguishes 5 types: (1) the West Siberian, (2) the (modern) East Siberian, (3) the Eskimo dog harness, (4) the Amur dog harness, and (5) the old Kamchadal dog harness. Among these types, he regards (2) as a result of Russian influence: it has some resemblance to a horse harness. He thinks that the Amur harness and the old Kamchadal harness were the oldest in eastern Siberia; and as the old Kamchadal type was merely a modification of the Amur type, we shall have to reckon with only two fundamental types of dog harness in old Siberia; one eastern and one western. Both of these types consist of a single bight; but in eastern Siberia this bight is placed around the forepart of the dog, in western Siberia around the loins, just in front of the hind legs. The eastern type is peculiarly interesting to us.

The Amur harness is a very primitive form, consisting of a single bight or collar which is put over the dog's head, so that the

[1] *The Koryak*, pp. 504–507.

animal pulls with its neck. This form is used by the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Tungusian tribes on the Amur who have learned dog driving from the Gilyak, according to Schrenck.[1] It is not only primitive, but also disadvantageous, as the dog, pulling with its neck, may easily get suffocated under great excitement and exertion. Among the old Kamchadal, a very fortunate modification of this harness was used. The old Kamchadal dog harness, described by Krasheninnikoff[2] and Ditmar,[3] consisted likewise of a single bight or collar, but it was placed on the animal in a way different from the Amur harness. The collar was put over the head and one foreleg of the dog, so that the animal pulled with the shoulder and in part with the chest. The right-hand dog had the head and left foreleg in the collar, and accordingly pulled with the chest and the right shoulder; the left-hand dog had its head and right foreleg in the collar and pulled with the chest and the left shoulder. Krasheninnikoff was the first observer who noticed the similarity between the Kamchadal dog harness and the Koryak reindeer harness; he also saw the difference, that in the Koryak reindeer team both animals have the collar passing over the right shoulder blade (*i. e.*, they both pull with the left shoulder).[4] The reindeer harness, used by the northern Tungusians and Yakut, is not only similar to the old Kamchadal dog harness, but it is even placed upon the animal in a similar way, the right reindeer pulling with the right shoulder, and the left reindeer with the left shoulder; this striking similarity has been noticed by Jochelson.[5]

The fundamental likeness, between the reindeer harness and the old eastern type of Siberian dog harness, makes it extremely probable that reindeer driving arose in imitation of dog driving.

[1] Leopold v. Schrenck, *Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande*, vol. III, pp. 484, 491, 496 *seq.*, pl. XXXVI–XXXVII. The Ainu harness is seen in a Japanese drawing, published by MacRitchie ("The Ainos," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Supplement to vol. IV), pl. XV, fig. 2.

[2] Krasheninnikoff, *Opisanie zemli Kamčatki*, vol. II, p. 79 (St. Petersburg, 1819. New Edition, Krasheninnikoff's journey was made 1733–43).

[3] K. von Ditmar, *Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka in den Jahren 1851–55*, Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Russischen Reiches, 3 Folge, vol. VII, p. 161 (St. Petersburg, 1890).

[4] Krasheninnikoff, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 210.

[5] W. Jochelson, *op. cit.*, p. 507.

We have good reasons for assuming that reindeer driving owes its existence to cultural influence from dog driving; and on the other hand, the theory, which in reindeer driving sees a result of cultural influence from horse and ox driving, has not yet been founded upon ethnographical evidence.

I shall abstain from dilating upon the local variations of the reindeer harness; they are nothing but variations, mainly touching the mode of placing the harness upon the animal—the fundamental type is the same, from Lapland to the Chukchi peninsula.[1] If we knew the former geographical distribution of the type of dog harness from which the reindeer harness seems to have sprung, and which Jochelson regards as the oldest in eastern Siberia, then this might help us somewhat in determining the region where reindeer driving was first developed; western Siberia is excluded, because there another primitive type of dog harness is prevalent.

Milking is not practised by all reindeer nomads; we find this usage distributed over two separate areas, one in northern Asia, another in Scandinavia. The Soyot milk their reindeer and even make cheese and butter from the milk.[2] The Karagas milk their

[1] Not all descriptions or illustrations of reindeer harness are reliable. Even the excellent observer, A. Erman, has made a serious mistake in describing the harness used by the Samoyed and Ostyak, "Reise um die Erde," *Historischer Reisebericht*, Berlin, 1833, vol. I, p. 632. He has overlooked the most important part of the harness, the collar to which the trace, pulling the sledge, is attached; he says that the trace issues from the belt which is placed behind the forelegs of the animal. As a matter of fact, this belt is the least indispensable part of the harness, its function being to keep the trace and the rein from sinking down when the reindeer stops. Good illustrations of the Samoyed and Ostyak harness are given by Ernst Hoffmann, *Der nördliche Ural und das Küstengebirge Pae Choi*, St. Petersburg, 1856, vol. II, pp. 56 *seq*, fig. 16. F. R. Martin, *Sibirica*, Stockholm, 1897, fig. 79 in text to pl. XVI. F. G. Jackson, *The Great Frozen Land*, London, 1895, pp. 115 *seq*. and title figure. The old style Lapp harness may be seen in Schefferus, *Lappland* (German translation), Frankfurt a.M., 1675, figure on p. 306; or in Leem, *Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Lapper*, Copenhagen, 1767, pl. LIV. This old type of reindeer harness is still used in Lapland. The Lapps in northern Scandinavia have introduced an improvement, the collar being replaced by a couple of wooden hames—this may be due to influence from horse or ox harness; the single trace for drawing the sledge has been retained, however. Cf. Emilie Demant Hatt, *Med Lapperne i Højfjeldet*, note 52 and several illustrations. According to Prof. K. B. Wiklund, Upsala, this improved form of reindeer harness is a loan from the reindeer-owning Finnish settlers in Lapland.

[2] Ørjan Olsen, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

reindeer;[1] and among the Tungusians, milking of the reindeer seems to be a general custom. A number of observers assert that butter-making is absolutely unknown among the Tungus,[2] and Laufer also declares that butter is never produced by any East Siberian tribe (p. 103). Pekarski and Tsv'ätkov[3] inform us, however, of an interesting, primitive method of butter-making, used by the Tungus of Ayan:

> From reindeer milk butter is prepared: the milk is poured into tursuks (*i. e.* leather sacks, used as milk-containers) and at camp-movings tied on top of the load; during the journey it is shaken and in that way churned into butter. Butter is made to a small extent only, because the milk-yield and the milk-supply is inconsiderable. The milk is often used as "white-maker" in tea.

The very primitiveness of this method of butter-making may indicate that it is not very recent among the Tungus. According to Georgi, the reindeer-Tungus have also made cheese, for use in winter.[4] When Laufer accepts the translation "and make cream of their milk" in his rendering of Huei Shen's account of Fu-sang p. 103), the objection might justly be made that reindeer milk does not gather cream like cows milk and therefore is never skimmed; and Laufer's statement "reindeer-milk is not made into any product in northern Asia" is contradicted not only by the butter-making of the Tungus of Ayan, but also by the butter and cheese-making of the Soyot.

The geographical distribution of milking among the reindeer nomads of Asia coincides nearly with that of reindeer riding. Among the Chukchi and Koryak, regular milking is an unknown art; occasionally, in an emergency, the herdsmen may catch a female reindeer, throw her down and try to suck some milk from her udder; the Chukchi herdsmen may even try to collect a small amount by spitting the milk, thus gained, out in a bladder.[5] Suck-

[1] H. F. Katanova in Zapiski Imperatorskago Russkago Geografičeskago Obščestva, vol. XVII, 2, p. 148, St. Petersburg, 1891.

[2] Cf. e. g. Ferdinand Müller, *Unter Tungusen und Jakuten*, p. 48. Leipzig, 1882. V. L. S'äroševski, *Yakuti*, p. 147. St. Petersburg, 1896.

[3] "Očerki byta Priayanskix Tungusov," *Publications de Musée d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie*, vol. II, 1, p. 34. St. Petersburg, 1913.

[4] J. G. Georgi, "Russland," *Beschreibung aller Nationen des russischen Reiches*, p. 320. Leipzig, 1783.

[5] Bogoras, *op. cit.*, p. 84. W. Jochelson, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

ing is probably a very old milking method;[1] it is used occasionally also by the Orotshon[2] and even by Lappish herdsmen. There is a far cry, however, between this and regular milking as practised by the Tungus. Only in localities where the Koryak live in close proximity to the Tungus, the former have learned from the latter to milk the does.[3]

Among the Samoyed and Ostyak, it seems that reindeer milking is, on the whole, not practised. By perusing the literature on these reindeer nomads, we find that some observers do not mention the question of milking at all, while others assert that milking is not practised.[4] The Finnish ethnographer Kai Donner, who has studied the nomadic Ostyak-Samoyed at the river Tas, mentions the fact that the Samoyed do not seem to value the milk highly, as they let their reindeer wander about grazing in the neighborhood of the river in summer while they are fishing; the Tungus, on the other hand, take good care of their reindeer in summer, in order to be able to milk them.

Among the Lapp, milking was until lately an important link in the reindeer industry, and reindeer milk and the products thereof played a very considerable rôle in the Lappish household. Within the last decades, the practice of regular milking has fallen somewhat into disuse, and at the same time the production of meat for sale is gaining steadily in importance. In earlier days, the does were milked regularly from midsummer until October, once or twice a day; milk was a most important article of food in summer, and

[1] Sucking has been practised even by reindeer hunters. In an Eskimo tale from Greenland, recorded by H. Rink, *Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn*, vol. II, p. 110, Copenhagen, 1871, a hunter kills a large female reindeer with an arrow and afterwards sucks its milk.

[2] L. v. Schrenck, *Reisen und Forschungen*, vol. III, 2, p. 460, note 2.

[3] W. Jochelson, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

[4] Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches*, vol. III, p. 69. St. Petersburg, 1776. ("Sie verstehen nicht selbige zu melken." The Samoyed in the province of Obdor.) Klingstädt, *Mémoire sur les Samojedes et les Lappons*, p. 35. Copenhagen, 1766. Klingstädt had lived in Archangel. V. Islavin, *Samoyedi v domašnem i obščestvennom bytu*, p. 44. St. Petersburg, 1847. ". . . the reindeer breeding itself is very simple and in a wild condition, so to speak, not as among the Lapp of Kola where the reindeer has become a domestic animal and where they gain milk and cheese from it. . . . " (Tslavin visited the Samoyed of the Mezen district.)

[5] Kai Donner, *Bland Samojeder i Sibirien*, p. 168. Helsingfors, 1915.

cheese and preserved milk were always found in a Lappish household; "the last cheese must see the first one," it was said. A full description of the milking industry of the Lapp would make a very large paper, and would prove it to be a fairly deep-rooted element of the Lapp culture. We have historic evidence, that reindeer milking was highly developed among the Lapp as early as the sixteenth century.[1] There seems to be every good reason to assume, however, that the whole milking industry of the Lapp is due to cultural influences from their Scandinavian neighbors.[2] The Lappish words for milk and cheese, and most of the names of implements, etc., connected with the milking industry, are of Scandinavian origin. The whole technique seems to be derived from Scandinavian sources. The very superstitions connected with milk and milking are borrowed from the Scandinavians. The only use of reindeer milk which we may safely assume to be originally Lappish, is the sucking of the does, which is occasionally practised by children and herdsmen, and mentioned even by a seventeenth century author.[3] There seems to be no reason whatever for assuming any connection between the Tungusian-Soyotian and the Lappish milking industry; and as we have the words of competent observers like Pallas and Islavin for the absence of any milking industry among the northwestern Asiatic and European Samoyed, there is no reason whatever for assuming that reindeer milking was transmitted from the Samoyed to the Lapp. Lappish reindeer milking must be due to Scandinavian influence—or, in other words, milking did not originally belong to Lappish reindeer nomadism.

Reindeer milking certainly must be due to influence from cow

[1] *Olai Magni Gothi De gentium septentrionalium variis conditionibus*, etc. Basileae, 1567, lib. XVII, cap. 20–21. In a document from 1576 (published by Isak Fellman in his great collection, *Handlingar och Uppsatser angående Finska Lappmarken och Lapparne*, vol. III, p. 338. Helsingfors, 1912) reindeer cheese is mentioned as an article which was given as a tribute to the authorities by the Lapp in northern Sweden.

[2] J. K. Qvigstad, Nordische Lehnwörter im Lappischen, *Vidensk. Selskabets Forhandlinger*, p. 65. Christiania, 1893.

[3] G. Tuderus, *Om the österbothniske lappar under Kiemi gebit.* Edited by K. B. Wiklund in "Bidrag till Kännedom om de Svenske Landsmalen och Svenskt Folklif," vol. XVII, 6. Upsala, 1905. Cap. IX, p. 22.

or horse culture. Our analysis has given the result, however, that milking does not belong among the oldest elements of reindeer nomadism. Reindeer milking arose within two separate areas, northern Asia and Lapland, just like the use of the reindeer as a pack-animal; neither of these practices has spread to all reindeer nomads.

The methods of slaughtering the reindeer are not the same everywhere. Unfortunately, our knowledge is incomplete with regard to the geographical distribution of the different methods. A few facts may be pointed out, however: Among the Tungus, Samoyed, and Ostyak, the custom of strangling the reindeer seems to be fairly general,[1] although other methods of killing the reindeer are also described in the literature. This strangling of the victim reminds one somewhat of the methods used at horse sacrifice by the Kalmuk of Altai,[2] and it would seem probable that it spread through northern Asia together with certain shamanistic rites. It has not spread through the whole area of reindeer nomadism, however—it never reached Lapland, nor the Koryak and Chukchi. It seems probable that stabbing the animal at the heart, or in the back of the neck, or in both places, is an older method than strangling and throat-cutting. In Lapland, the reindeer is stabbed with a knife in the heart; among the southern Lapp, it is the custom to stab the reindeer at first in the back of the neck, between the first vertebra and the skull, and afterwards in the heart. This Lappish method of slaughtering has not been borrowed from the Scandinavians, as it is quite different from the Scandinavian way of slaughtering oxen; we find similar methods, however, in northeastern Asia, used by the Tungusian tribe on Saghalin, the Oroki, who stab the reindeer in the back of the neck with a small knife.[3] The Chukchi and

[1] Cf. J. Bulitschef, *Reise in Ostsibirien*, p. 90 (the Tungus of Ochotsk). Leipzig, 1858. Ernst Hofmann, *Der nördliche Ural*, vol. I, p. 28 (sacrificial feast among the Ostyak). St. Petersburg, 1856. A. G. Schrenk, *Reise nach dem Nordosten des europäischen Russlands*, vol. I, p. 406–7 (sacrificial feast among the Samoyed of northeastern Russia). Dorpat, 1848. Kai Donner has told me orally that among the Samoyed, visited by him, it is customary to kill the reindeer by strangling and afterwards the animal's throat is cut in order to obtain the blood.

[2] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, vol. II, p. 25–6.

[3] S. Ishida in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo*, vol. XXV, no. 286, January, 1910. (I am indebted to Prof. K. B. Wiklund, Upsala, for this reference.)

Koryak method of stabbing the reindeer at the heart[1] is much like the Lappish method; the Lapp, however always use a knife for that purpose, not a spear.

In the technique of reindeer-tending, we find a number of traits which are distributed throughout the area of reindeer nomadism. Not only do we find such similarities which may be explained as due to the reindeer's own natural instincts—*e. g.*, the use of urine as a means of attracting the deer, or the taking advantage of the gregariousness of the deer. We also find similarities of another kind, suggesting cultural relations—*e. g.*, the lasso, and the use of castration by biting (which is undertaken for two reasons: to promote the fattening of the males, intended for slaughter; and to make the animals more tame and docile). On the other hand, a few features in the technique of reindeer tending have a more limited distribution; among these we should emphasize the use of the watch-dog which is found, fully developed, only in Lapland and among the European Samoyed.[2] The Asiatic Samoyed do not use watch-dogs, according to Middendorff,[3] and Middendorff's explanation,[4] that the wolves of northwestern Siberia are too numerous for the dog, is quite fallacious; if the dogs could not get along, it would be even worse for the reindeer—and as a matter of fact, the dog is a good guard against beasts of prey. The Kalmuk of Altai let their dogs guard the herd of cattle against nightly attacks by wolves;[5] the Kirghis of the Irtysh-steppe guard their herds at night by means of dogs.[6] It seems that the Soyot use their hunting dogs occasionally as watch-dogs.[7] The Tungus in Yeniseisk use the watch-dog in reindeer tending, according to Kai Donner.[8] Other Tungusians tend their herds without the use of watch-dogs, and the same is true of the Chukchi and the Koryak.

[1] Bogoras, *op. cit.*, p. 85. W. Jochelson, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[2] F. G. Jackson, *The Great Frozen Land*, p. 77–78.

[3] Finsch mentions, however, the use of watch-dogs in reindeer-tending in western Siberia. O. Finsch, *Reise*, p. 474–475.

[4] Middendorff, *Reise in den äussersten Norden und Osten Sibiriens*, vol. IV, p. 1333.

[5] Radloff, "Briefe aus dem Altai," *Erman's Archiv.*, vol. XXI, p. 182 (1862).

[6] T. W. Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia*, p. 289. London, 1852.

[7] Ørjan Olsen, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[8] Kai Donner, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

The culture-historical origin of the watch-dog is a difficult problem. I would suggest that one line of evolution might be traced back to the hunting dog. Reading the Yakut Uwarowskij's narrative[1] of the Tungusian hunting dog who overtakes wild reindeer and detains them by running around them until his master may have time to arrive, one is reminded of the Lappish watch-dog who overtakes stray reindeer and drives them back to the herd. The distance between the hunting dog and the watch-dog is very considerable, however—the watch-dog is a cultural acquisition of high rank; and in all probability, the western reindeer nomads developed this use of the dog under influence from more civilized neighbors.

Another trait of limited distribution is the use of bells, hung on some of the leading deer in the herd. This feature is of some importance in Lappish reindeer tending, and it seems to be a loan from the Scandinavians; the jingling of the bells facilitates greatly the finding of stray troops of deer. Also the northern Zirian, a Finnish people who have lately adopted reindeer breeding, use bells, and they differ in that respect from the Samoyed, their teachers in the art of reindeer breeding.[2] Among the reindeer nomads of Asia, the use of bells seems to be almost unknown; Middendorff certainly figures a bell of elk-horn, used by the Tungus,[3] but the custom does not seem to be general among the Tungus.

It is evident that not all the cultural traits belonging to reindeer nomadism of the present day are equally old. If we should attempt to reconstruct reindeer nomadism in its oldest form, then we must subtract a number of present-day features. The geographical distribution of the cultural elements considered on the previous pages makes it apparent that reindeer nomadism has been subject to culture influences of a remoulding nature within two different areas: the Tungusian-Soyotian area and Lapland. The use of the reindeer for riding and carrying and as a milk-giving animal must have come into the Tungusian-Soyotian area as a result of contact

[1] Uwarowskij's Erinnerungen (Otto Böhtlingk, *Über die Sprache der Jakuten;* Middendorff's Reise, vol. III), p. 29.

[2] Hofmann, *Der nördliche Ural*, vol. II, p. 149.

[3] Middendorff, *Reise*, vol. IV, p. 1272 and figure on p. 1271.

with horse and cow culture, and does not belong to the oldest form of reindeer nomadism. Some features of minor importance, as the slaughtering of reindeer by strangling and throat-cutting, must also be due to influence from southern sources, and cannot be reckoned among the oldest features of reindeer nomadism. In Lapland, reindeer milking and the preparation of cheese, butter, etc., must be due to influence from the Scandinavians, and the use of the reindeer as a pack-animal may perhaps be regarded as a special Lappish trait, at least the peculiar Lappish packsaddle has no relation to any other packsaddle, known to me. The watch-dog, used in reindeer tending, is a feature characteristic of the western reindeer nomads.

In reconstructing the oldest reindeer nomadism, we must subtract then the following elements: the use of the reindeer as a riding and pack-animal, reindeer milking, and the watch-dog. The forms of reindeer nomadism which we find among the Soyot, the Tungus, and the Lapp, are very far from primitive.

On the other hand, if we regard the areas where the said elements are missing, we do not find primitive conditions there either. The reindeer nomadism of the Koryak and Chukchi and that of the Samoyed in northwestern Siberia are certainly in some respects comparatively oldfashioned; but they also contain traits which cannot be very old. The great size of the herds, and the reindeer-breeder's almost exclusive dependence upon the products of his herd, are not primitive features. In Pallas's days, the Samoyed in the district of Obdor did not slaughter many of their reindeer; for food they relied largely upon the products of the chase, especially the hunting of wild reindeer.

"Diese Hausthiere dienen aber hauptsächlich nur bey ihren Zügen zu Fortbringung der Schlitten. Sie verstehen nicht selbige zu melken, und zum Slachten sind ihre Heerden theils zu swach, theils die Besitzer zu geitzig. Ihr Hauptbestand ist, wie bey den Tungusen und einigen Nordamerikanischen Völkern, die Jagd und sonderlich die wilden Rennthierheerden, welchen sie auf allerlei Art nachzustellen wissen. . . . "[1]

This state of affairs, that reindeer nomadism and hunting, especially reindeer hunting, went hand in hand, seems to have been

[1] Pallas, *Reise*, vol. III, p. 69.

general. Among the Tungus, Soyot, Karagas, and Vogul, the domesticated reindeer is still mainly a means of transport, a valuable accessory to the life of hunters. In Lapland, reindeer hunting was formerly of great importance in the economy of the Lapp, as testified by many of the old authors.[1] The large herds, which make it possible for their owners to live exclusively on the products of reindeer breeding, represent an extreme development, favored by the excellent pastures of the Scandinavian mountains and the tundras; this form of reindeer nomadism has greatly impaired the conditions of the wild reindeer, and so has diminished the possibilities of reindeer hunting, and at the same time it has put the economy of the nomads on a more secure basis.

The old reindeer nomads were reindeer hunters, however; and without doubt, reindeer hunting must have been an important occupation in northern Asia and Europe, long before the era of the domesticated reindeer. The question arises: what has reindeer nomadism inherited from reindeer hunting?

I have repeatedly spent happy days with Lappish herdsmen. Their life is peculiarly fascinating; and it has struck me that the charm is largely due to a strong element of the hunt. We go out in the early morning, searching for scattered parts of the herd; it may take us all day, or perhaps several days before we have found and collected the stragglers. The reindeer troops are traced in many different ways; the downtrodden grass tells when the deer passed by and what direction they took; from the appearance of their excrements it may also be found out whether the reindeer were here today or yesterday, or perhaps the day before; if the animals have passed over a snowdrift, their footprints are examined, to see whether it happened this morning or yesterday. The gray mountainsides, several miles away, are scanned minutely, to see whether the gray points over there may be reindeer or only rocks. Reindeer tending requires the same sort of powers and the same kind of knowledge which the forefathers of the Lapp used in reindeer-hunting. An intimate familiarity with the habits and ways of the

[1] Olaus Magnus, lib. IV, cap. XI, lib. XVII, cap. XXI. Schefferus, cap. XIX. Leem, p. 181–185. Among the Lapp, hunting was and is mostly done by poor men, owning but a few domesticated reindeer. Rich reindeer-breeders have no time for hunting.

deer and with the orography of the country, is indispensable; if the wind has blown for some length of time from that direction, we may expect to find reindeer in this valley or upon that mountain; if it has been cold and rainy, they may have spread through these woods, etc. The herdsmen's wonderful ability to run and jump for miles and miles through tracts covered with rocks and across swamps and moors, carrying provisions upon the back and perhaps a skin or a blanket for camping in the open, is also due to inheritance from an untold line of sturdy reindeer hunters.

And from these same progenitors, the reindeer nomads have also inherited more material and palpable culture-elements. The lasso, used by all reindeer nomads, is an old hunting implement. The Assyrians used the lasso in hunting, as it appears from a relief illustrating a hunting scene.[1] In some parts of North America, the lasso seems to have been used in hunting; in a Kwakiutl tale,[2] this implement is mentioned as used for catching mountain-sheep; in a Greenland Eskimo tale,[3] a man belonging to the mythical "inland people" catches seal by throwing a snare from the beach; Lahontan[4] describes a buffalo hunt among the Arkansas Indians and pictures a buffalo, caught by means of several ropes, held by four men. There may perhaps be some evolutionary connection between the lasso and the sling-traps or snares which are so widely used by hunters in northern Europe, Asia, and America, especially for small game, but in some cases also for large game. The moose has been caught by means of snares by North American Indians,[5] wild reindeer and elk by the Samoyed.[6] The Lapp have caught wild reindeer in snares made of sinew;[7] even the bear has been caught in sling-traps, according to Johan Turi.[8]

[1] Schurz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, figure on p. 345.

[2] Franz Boas and George Hunt, *Kwakiutl Texts* (Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. III), p. 36.

[3] H. Rink, *Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn*, Copenhagen, 1866, p. 114.

[4] Lahontan, *New voyages to North-America* (reprinted from the English edition of 1703, by Thwaites, Chicago, 1905), vol. I, p. 204, and frontispiece picture, "a beeve catch'd by the horns with ropes."

[5] Lahontan, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 106.

[6] Pallas, *Reise*, vol. III, p. 89.

[7] Leem, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

[8] Emilie Demant, *Das Buch des Lappen*, Johan Turi, p. 118.

According to Lappish tradition, the lasso has been used for catching wild reindeer. An interesting account of reindeer hunting has been given by a Lapp, Bera Turi, Johan Turi's nephew. From this account, which is being edited by Emilie Demant Hatt in a collection of Lappish texts, we learn that a wild reindeer was occasionally caught with the lasso and killed when it had joined a tame reindeer-herd. Among the Chukchi the lasso is used in hunting mountain-sheep.[1] Without doubt, the lasso is of vastly greater importance to the nomad than it ever was to the hunter; but still, there is reason to believe that the nomad took it over from the hunter.

The use of human urine or salt as means of attracting the deer, a custom found among all reindeer nomads, may also be traced back to the hunters. That deer and mountain-sheep frequent places where the surface is saline, in order to lick salt, is a fact well-known to North Asiatic hunters;[2] and some Tungusians even used to salt the ground in order to induce the wild deer to frequent certain localities.[3]

Without the snowshoe or ski, reindeer tending would be impossible in winter. There can be no doubt, that the snowshoe was used in hunting wild reindeer, long before reindeer nomadism appeared; it is even likely that the development of the snowshoe has been greatly furthered by its being used in chasing wild reindeer and elk on the snow—a mode of hunting, practised everywhere from Lapland to eastern Canada and New England.[4]

[1] Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 137.

[2] Johann Sievers, *Briefe aus Sibirien*, St. Petersburg, 1796, p. 63–64. Hunting in the Yablonnoi mountains.

[3] Cf. Middendorff, *Reise*, vol. IV, p. 1389; G. Radde, *Berichte über Reisen im Süden von Ostsibirien* (Beiträge zur Kenntniss des rüssischen Reiches, vol. XXIII, St. Petersburg, 1861), p. 630. Radde's account of the hunting methods of the Birar-Tungus in the Bureja mountains is also cited by Richard Andree, *Das Amur-Gebiet und seine Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1867), p. 194.

[4] Cf., *e. g.*, Leem, p. 183–184 (Lappish reindeer-hunting); Middendorff, *Reise*, vol. IV, p. 1378, and vol. III, p. 29 (the Yakut Uvarovskij's description of Tungusian reindeer-hunting, in Böhtlingk's paper "Über die Sprache der Jakuten"); Johann Sievers, *op. cit.*, p. 64 (elk-hunting in the Yablonnoi mountains); G. T. Emmons, The Tahltan Indians, *University of Pennsylvania Anthropological Publications*, vol. IV. 1, p. 70 (caribou-hunting on snowshoe); Jesuit relations, ed. by Thwaites, vol. I, p. 247, and vol. IV, p. 193 (account of moose-hunting on snowshoes in eastern Canada).

In Lapland, and also among the Soyot and Tungus, we find the practice of driving the reindeer into enclosures, for milking and other purposes. The origin of this practice should perhaps be sought in a hunting method which has been described from Lapland,[1] the Samoyed,[2] and several tribes of North American Indians.[3] This mode of hunting consists in driving the deer into an enclosure through a sort of funnel, composed of two long diverging fences or rows of sticks and the like. The Lapp still make such a funnel-shaped entrance to the enclosure in which they collect the reindeer herd.[4]

On the whole, the culture of the reindeer nomads contains a number of features which are evidently older than the domestication of reindeer, and many of which must have been inherited from a hunting period. A comparative study of the material culture of the reindeer nomads and that of the reindeer hunting American tribes of northern Athapascan and Algonkian stock would disclose a considerable number of fundamental similarities. In fact, if these northern Indian tribes had adopted the reindeer as a draught animal, they would have fitted remarkably well into the ensemble of reindeer nomads.

The Beginnings of Reindeer Nomadism

How came it about that the reindeer hunters of northern Asia adopted the reindeer as a draught animal, putting a harness upon him, similar to that which they were wont to use on dogs?

Seeing a reindeer herd on its pastures, especially if it was not a very tame herd, any observer must have wondered, how it ever might occur to a human being in sober earnest, that such animals

[1] Tornäus, cited by Castrén, *Nordiska resor och forskningar*, vol. I, p. 44–45. Leem, *op. cit.*, p. 184–185.

[2] Pallas, *Reise*, vol. III, p. 90.

[3] Frederick Whymper, *Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska* (London, 1868), p. 187–188 and illustration; Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay, to the Northern Ocean* (London, 1795), p. 78–80; Lahontan, *op. cit.*, p. 106–107.

[4] It must be admitted, however, that the name of this reindeer-enclosure (gardde) is a word of Scandinavian origin. On the Faeroes, the shepherds use enclosures made of stones and with a funnel-shaped entrance, cf. Daniel Bruun, *Fra de færøske Bygder* (Tidsskrift for Landøkonomi, Copenhagen, 1904), illustration p. 80–81.

would be good for hauling sleds. It is true that in myths and legends we find all sorts of queer draught animals mentioned; in a Greenland tale, even reindeer driving occurs, and in the same tale also the bear and certain fabulous beasts play the rôle of draught animals.[1] Such fantastic mythical ideas would, however, never constitute any practical motive for a great cultural move like the substituting of the reindeer for the dog in sledge driving. I think it would involve a psychological impossibility if we assumed that man had tamed the wild reindeer for the clear purpose of obtaining a draught animal. I find it necessary to assume that the reindeer was already to some extent tamed at the time when man began to train it to the sled.

An easy way of getting rid of the mystery has been proposed by Eduard Hahn.[2] The first reindeer breeders were—according to Hahn—originally cow and horse breeders, who moved into north-eastern Asia and there, losing their cattle on account of the hard climate, had to domesticate another sort of animal, and chose the reindeer for that purpose. This hypothesis has one great advantage—it actually relieves its adherents from all speculating about the origin of reindeer nomadism. Reindeer domestication is simply regarded as an offshoot of horse and cow domestication—that's all. It is no wonder that such an easy theory has become quite popular. Laufer even goes so far as to state (p. 114):

> All observers agree in regarding the domestication of the reindeer as an imitative process leaning towards that of horse and cattle.

I would maintain that this statement is somewhat too broad.

Hahn's theory does not bear a close examination. As a matter of fact, horses and cows are thriving beautifully in a large part of the area of reindeer nomadism. The Yakut have at some points brought horses and cows north of the Polar circle, in a few cases even to the shores of the Arctic ocean.[3] Of course, there are portions of northern Eurasia where horses and cows cannot live, and large

[1] Rink, *Eskimoiske Eventyr of Sagn*, p. 112–113.

[2] Eduard Hahn, *Die Haustiere*, p. 263.

[3] Middendorff, *Reise*, vol. IV, pp. 1311 seq., 1324 seq. Ferdinand Müller, *Unter Tungusen und Jakuten*, p. 205–206.

areas are found where reindeer breeding must always remain the more profitable industry. The Yakut have, however, proved the possibility of carrying horse and cattle breeding very far north—and therefore, if Hahn's theory was correct, we should have to assume that the "center of domestication" was to be found somewhere in the neighborhood of the arctic tree line—which would, for several reasons, make it exceedingly difficult to explain the present distribution and character of reindeer nomadism. Now, if we leave that point aside, another objection to Hahn's theory presents itself: The management of a reindeer herd, especially if it be not very tame, is no easy matter. It certainly would be a difficult task for horse and cattle breeders, having lost their stock, to tame wild reindeer instead. I rather think the cattle breeders, in such a predicament, would prefer to adopt industries of old standing in the country they had entered, viz., fishing and hunting. It is, however, the strongest objection against Hahn's theory, that influence from horse and cattle breeding is apparent only in the younger cultural elements of reindeer nomadism.

It is not to be denied that some reindeer nomads have taken over certain things from horse and cattle breeding. Certain culture-elements, among which reindeer riding and milking are the most important, are undoubtedly due to cultural impulses from cow and horse breeders; these, however, do not belong to the oldest stratum in reindeer nomadism. As I have shown, reindeer riding and milking must be comparatively young features. Reindeer driving, on the other hand, is an old feature; but we have no ethnographical grounds for assuming that this element was taken over from horse or cattle breeding, while we have every ethnographical reason to believe that reindeer driving arose as a substitute for or in imitation of dog driving. And although it is hardly possible to indicate the origin of every cultural element belonging to reindeer nomadism, it is quite evident that a large part of that culture-form is due to a sort of inheritance from reindeer hunting.

I find it necessary to assume that the first reindeer nomads were reindeer hunters, in possession of a thorough familiarity with the ways and habits of the animal. As the oldest reindeer nomads did

not practise riding nor milking, the influence from horse and cattle breeding, if any, cannot have been very strong or intimate at that period, it must have been of a somewhat remote nature. The first reindeer breeders must have been hunters; and the motives which were at work in the initial stages of reindeer breeding must have been such as would appeal to the interests of hunters.

What were these motives? Of course, as a draught animal, hauling the sled, the domesticated reindeer is exceedingly valuable to hunters and presents a number of easily recognizable advantages above the dog. However, as I have stated already, I find it necessary to assume that the reindeer was tamed, to some extent, before it occurred to man, that it might be trained to the sled. How did this preliminary taming of the reindeer come about?

We know that animals are kept as pets in all countries, not only by civilized man, but even by tribes of a very low cultural standing, having no idea of the economic value of domesticated animals. May we assume, that tame reindeer have been kept at first as pets, and then later on have been set to work? I think not. The reindeer is a herd-animal, one single fawn would not thrive in captivity, and the keeping of a number of tamed deer, just for pleasure, would involve such great labor and expense that it only would be undertaken in civilized countries, as in old Greece and Rome, China and India (cf. examples in Laufer's paper, p. 131–133). In particular, no tribe of hunters would ever undertake to tame and keep a number of reindeer for aesthetic reasons only. Some other, more powerful motive must have entered into play before the appetites of the hunter submitted to the tender feelings of the herdsman.

The hunter had, of course, a natural interest in the thriving of his game. We find this sympathy expressed in certain semi-religious ideas and customs, purporting to increase or preserve the supply of game. These ideas and customs, of great interest to the science of religion, do not concern us here; the reverential treatment of a slain animal's bones, or the performance of ritual dances with supposed magical influence upon the multiplication of animals, never did give rise to a step of practical progress, like the domestica-

tion of animals. Religion certainly clings to every branch of human life and activity; but to look for the origin of purely economic forms in the religious notions or usages with which they are associated, is about as much topsy-turvy as to regard a tree as a natural outcome of the lianas and epiphytes it supports.[1]

The idea of catching wild reindeer and keeping them as a living supply of provisions, would hardly occur to a hunting tribe, and moreover, it would not be a very easy scheme to carry out. The bear may be kept in captivity and fattened for the big feast, as it is done by the Gilyak. The reindeer, however, is a *migratory* animal.[2] It could not live in a cage, like the bear, and it would never thrive in an enclosure, nor could it be kept permanently within a deer-park, like the fallow deer, the roe, and the stag.[3] The migratory instinct of the reindeer is so strong that it hardly can be subdued, and it determines largely the annual wanderings of the reindeer nomads.

We may safely assume that already in a period anterior to the domestication of the reindeer, the hunting tribes of northern Asia found in the wild reindeer herds a main source of livelihood. The reindeer hunters of Siberia probably led a life not very different from that of the caribou-hunting northern Athapascans, of whom Samuel Hearne wrote:

> As their whole aim is to procure a comfortable subsistence, they take the most prudent methods to accomplish it; and by always following the lead of the deer, are seldom exposed to the gripping hand of famine. . . .[4]

[1] That Eduard Hahn sees in religious rites the origin of the domestication of oxen, and even the origin of the plough-culture, is one of the fundamental errors in his famous book "Die Haustiere."

[2] Cf. *e. g.*, A. G. Schrenk, *Reise nach dem Nordosten des eur. Russlands* (Dorpat, 1848–54), vol. I–II, passim. Middendorff, *Reise*, vol. IV, pp. 1125 seq., 1146 seq., 1177 seq. It must be admitted that the mountain reindeer of southern Siberia make less extensive wanderings than the northern reindeer, wherefore Middendorff gives to the former the name of "Stand-Rennthiere" as compared with the latter which he calls "Wander-Rennthiere." The "Stand-Rennthiere" wander, however, every winter downwards into the valleys, and every summer upwards into the mountains.

Einar Lönnberg, *Om Renarne och deras Lefnadsvanor* (Uppsala, 1909), p. 24–139.

[3] Of late, an unsuccessful attempt has been made to use a portion of the heaths of Jylland for reindeer breeding. The animals, bought in Norway, were kept in a very large enclosure. They grew extremely fat and clumsy; and after a while, they began to die off.

[4] *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort, etc.*, p. 83.

Without doubt, long before reindeer domestication began, the hunters knew the ways and habits of this animal and followed it on its migrations, out on the tundra or up in the mountains in summer, back into the woods and valleys in winter. The wanderings of the reindeer nomads were, to some extent, already a formed habit before domestication began.

Some authors have suggested that reindeer nomadism was a gradual outcome of reindeer hunting, the individual group of hunters getting especially interested in the particular wild herd upon which it subsisted, and by and by taking care of the animals.[1] This theory requires some qualification. Ethnographical facts do not warrant the assumption that a tribe of hunters would take to tending and domesticating an animal species as long as they regarded that animal simply as a sort of game. And to this day, the reindeer nomads regard the wild reindeer from the viewpoint of the hunter; the domesticated reindeer is to be cared for and spared as far as possible, the wild reindeer is to be killed and eaten. It is quite significant that the reindeer people use different words for the wild and the domesticated reindeer.[2] The Lapp believe that domesticated reindeer were obtained by taming wild ones; but their ideas of how such taming was brought about are rather unclear and do not throw any light upon our problem. When wild reindeer were caught alive in enclosures, they were as mercilessly killed by Lapp and Samoyed as by North American Indians.

This striking difference in attitude towards wild and domesticated reindeer is so deep rooted, that we must regard it as very old; in fact, I do not see why it should not have been at work in the very earliest stages of reindeer nomadism.

Our problem may be put thus: How came it about that hunters began to regard certain reindeer as their personal property to be tended and guarded and spared, while the entire remainder of the reindeer species was to be killed and eaten? It seems evident, that

[1] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* (Leipzig, 1884), vol. I, p. 414; K. B. Wiklund, *De Svenska Nomadlapparnas Flyttningar* (Uppsala, 1908), p. 7 and note 15.

[2] Cf. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 475, where the Koryak, Yukaghir, Tungus, and Yakut terms are given. In Lappish, the wild reindeer is called "godde," the domesticated reindeer "boaco."

the interest which bound the reindeer owner and his herd together must have been a strong one from the very outset, and such as would appeal to reindeer hunters. And this interest cannot at first have been based upon the use of the reindeer as a means of transport.

We find, however, that reindeer breeders in northern Asia and Europe have used tame reindeer also for another purpose which would make them exceedingly valuable to hunters, viz., *as decoy-animals*. That this practice is old, follows from the fact that it was used in Scandinavia as early as the ninth century, which we know from Ohthere's famous account (cited by Laufer on p. 95). In this practice, we find a use of tame reindeer in the closest possible connection with reindeer hunting.

Stalking the game, is a hunting method found all over the world. Wide spread is also the custom that the hunter disguises himself so as to appear like his game. The Bushman of South Africa, hunting ostriches, approaches the game under cover of an ostrich-mask.[1] The Apache hunter, stalking antelopes, wore an antelope-mask.[2] The Eskimo, when he softly and stealthily approaches the seal on the ice, looks very much like a seal himself in his sealskin clothes,[3] and he lures the animal by scratching on the ice.[4] A beautiful description of how the Assiniboin used to decoy a buffalo herd into an enclosure, has been given by Alexander Henry;[5] several expert hunters, dressed in buffalo hides and walking in such a manner that they resembled the animals themselves, lured the buffalo herd into the "pound." Also in northern Asia, similar tricks have been used. In describing the Tungusian costume, Georgi writes:

> . . . des Winters und auf der Jagd aber tragen sie Mützen welche aus der rauhen Haut von Rehköpfen, an denen die Ohren aufgerichtet, und wen sie junge Hörner haben, auch diese stehen, und sehr heslich aussehen. [6]

[1] George W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa* (London, 1910), p. 82 and pl. VII.

[2] Carl Lumholtz, *Blandt Mexicos Indianere* (Kristiania, 1903), vol. I, p. 60–61 and illustration.

[3] Franz Boas, "The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology*, p. 484.

[4] E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait" *Eighteenth Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology*, p. 129–130.

[5] Alexander Henry, *Travels and adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories* (new ed. by J. Bain, Toronto, 1901), pp. 299 seq.

[6] J. G. Georgi, *Reise im Russischen Reich* (St. Petersburg, 1775), vol. I, p. 255.

What use the Tungusian hunters were making of these caps, we learn from Ysbrants Ides:

> On the head they wear, instead of cap, the hide of a roebuck with the horns on top, protruding above the head, especially when they go roe-hunting, and with that they can easily deceive the roes, creeping very close in the grass, because these animals do not imagine anything but to see the head of another roe and therefore remain standing without fear, while they (the hunters) have the bow ready and shoot the game down unerringly, because of the close range.[1]

Middendorff and Radde mention, from the Amur country and the Baikal region, the use of horns and whistles for alluring stags and musk-deer in the pairing season.[2]

Visdelou's interesting account of how the Manchu allured the deer in the rutting season by means of a stag's head which the hunter placed over his own head, and by means of a decoy whistle, imitating the call of a stag, has been cited by Laufer (p. 134).

Even the Samoyed have used similar stratagems in hunting. Erman writes:

> . . . Sie fangen die Pelzthiere nicht nur durch die gewöhnlicheren Listen der Fallen und künstlichen Waffen, sondern auch indem sie während der Jagden vollständig mit den Nachgestellten gemein machen, wie sie auf Händen und Füssen gehen und durch Stimme und Kleidung ihnen nachahmen.[3]

These hunting methods were probably precursors of the hunting by means of decoy animals, which has been practised by most reindeer nomads.

Jochelson describes three methods of hunting by means of decoy reindeer, practised by the Tungus of Yakutsk, Gishiginsk, and Ochotsk.[4] Guided by a specially trained reindeer which he holds on a long line, the Tungusian hunter approaches the pasture of the wild reindeer; he hides himself behind a bush or a hillock, letting the trained reindeer go forward. The wild reindeer, on seeing the decoy deer, approach to it, led on by the herd instinct;

[1] E. Ysbrants Ides, *Drie-jarige Reize naar China, te Lande gedaan* (Amsterdam, 1704), p. 38.

[2] G. Radde, *Berichte über Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibirien* (Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Russischen Reiches, vol. XXIII. St. Petersburg, 1861), p. 318–319, 651; Middendorff, *Reise*, vol. IV, p. 1390.

[3] A. Erman, *Reise um die Erde* (Berlin, 1833), vol. I, p. 654.

[4] W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 499.

the hunter softly pulls his reindeer closer to himself, and the wild reindeer follow until they are within easy range of shot. Another method is used by the Tungus in the pairing season of the wild reindeer. The hunter selects two of the strongest males in his herd.

> Having found the tracks of a herd of wild reindeer, the hunter lets one stag loose, after having tied a thong in several loops around its antlers. Feeling itself free, the rutting stag, taking the scent of the tracks of the wild dams, runs to overtake them. The wild stag does not allow his adversary to approach the females, but engages in a single fight with him, and becomes entangled in the thong. The hunter, mounted on the other stag, finds the combatants with their antlers entangled, and slays the wild reindeer. . . . The third method consists in enticing wild stags in the autumn by means of domesticated dams. This method is resorted to in wooded localities that are free from wolves. Having found a pasture of wild reindeer, the hunter leaves there, alone and unguarded, some dams from his herd, which are then in their rutting-period. The dams attract the wild stags. A day or two later the hunter stealthily approaches his dams, and endeavors to shoot the wild reindeer that have imprudently gone too near them.

Jochelson tells us furthermore that the Koryak and the Chukchi slay the wild males visiting the tame females in their herds, the Chukchi even considering it an ill omen if in such cases the wild stag escapes from the herd.[1] He observes rightly that the principle in all the three methods described is to *kill* the wild reindeer (not to catch it and keep it alive), while in the last method it is also desired to obtain a crossbreed from the union of the wild with the domesticated reindeer.

Pallas describes how the Samoyed hunt wild reindeer by using tame ones as decoy. Hidden between four or five tame reindeer, which are trained especially for the purpose and are held by ropes, the hunter approaches the reindeer herd; usually female reindeer with their fawns are employed. Another method, practised by the Samoyed in fall, in the rutting season, is very much like the second method described by Jochelson. The Samoyed select a strong reindeer buck and look for a wild reindeer herd. When they have found a wild herd, they fasten a sling round the antlers of the tame buck, and it is let loose; it approaches the wild herd,

[1] The Chukchi hunt also reindeer by means of special decoy deer; cf. Bogoras, p. 136. According to Bogoras, the best decoy-deer is a cross with a wild reindeer.

and very soon enters into a fight with a wild reindeer buck who gets his antlers entangled in the sling. When the hunter approaches, the wild reindeer attempts to flee; but the tame reindeer thrusts his antlers down towards the ground and holds the rival firmly until the hunter arrives and kills his game. The Samoyed use for that purpose strong and fiery bucks

und zerknüpfen ihnen die eine Hode mit den Zähnen, damit sie besser bey Kräften bleiben.[1]

That the Samoyed of northern Europe have made use of similar hunting methods, we know from Corneille le Brun, who passed through Archangel in 1701 on his journey to the orient. After having described how the Samoyed hunt the seal on the ice, clothed in such a manner that they resemble anything but human beings—a method which seems identical with the Eskimo method of hunting seal, mentioned above—he goes on describing the reindeer hunt:

Ils se servent à peu près du même stratagême pour prendre des rennes, se glissant, couverts de leurs peaux, & sans être reconnus, entre ceux qui sont apprivoisez, puis s'approchant des sauvages, ils les percent de leurs dards: Mais il faut qu'ils se tiennent sous le vent, parce que ces animaux, qui ont l'odorat admirable, ne manqueroient pas de les découvrir sans cela, & ainsi ils parviennent à leur but & font de bonnes prises.[2]

This method seems to be identical with the first one described by Pallas. Le Brun's account is interesting, as it shows that he was aware of the connection between the use of decoy deer and the hunter's disguise.

We know from Ohthere's account that decoy deer were used by the Lapp in northern Scandinavia as early as the ninth century. The Lappish mode of using decoy deer was described in the seventeenth century by Joh. Tornäus and Samuel Rheen (or Rehn), two of the writers from whose communications Schefferus took the material for his famous book Lapponia. In the fall, in the rutting

[1] Pallas, *Reise*, vol. III, p. 90–91. Cf. also Middendorff, *Reise*, vol. IV, p. 1382 on the use of decoy-deer by the Samoyed in the Taimyr tundra. The Ostyak between Ob and Jenisei have hunted wild reindeer in a similar way, according to A. Erman (*Reise um die Erde*, vol. I, p. 653–654).

[2] Corneille le Brun, *Voyage par la Moscovie, en Perse et aux Indes Orientales* (Amsterdam, 1718), p. 11.

season, the Lapp take a number of female reindeer to a place, frequented by wild reindeer, and bind them there; when the wild bucks approach the females, they are shot by the hunters.[1] (It will be noticed that this procedure shows some similarity to the third method described by Jochelson.) Tornäus describes also another method in his manuscript; some Lappish hunters place a sling in the antlers of their tame bucks, and in these slings the wild bucks are ensnared.[2] (The resemblance of this mode of hunting to the second method described by Jochelson, is easily recognized.) Knud Leem has also described the hunting of wild reindeer in the rutting season by means of a number of tame female reindeer, used as decoys; he adds that when two wild bucks arrive at the same time, they will engage in a fight and in that way make it easier for the hunter to kill one[3] of them.

The use of decoy deer must have been characteristic of the initial stages of reindeer breeding. I find it highly probable that this hunting method—a decided improvement upon the hunter's older practice of disguising himself so as to look like the deer—was the first motive which brought about the domestication of the reindeer.

There is no reason to believe, though, that the idea of using tame animals as means of alluring wild members of the same species arose independently in the mind of Siberian reindeer hunters. The use of decoy animals is not restricted to reindeer hunting—it is widespread in the countries of old civilization. In Europe, the use of decoy ducks for catching waterfowl is of a very old standing on the Frisian islands and in Holland.[4] In Persia, swans are lured into

[1] Schefferus, the German ed., p. 261.

[2] Johannis, *Tornäi Berättelse om Lapmarkerna och deras tillstånd.* Ed. by K. B. Wiklund (Bidrag till Kännedom om de Svenska Landsmålen och Svenskt Folkliv, vol. XVII, 3, p. 58. Upsala, 1900).

[3] Leem, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[4] The English word *decoy* has been derived from Dutch *eend*, duck, and *kooi*, cage. The use of decoys or traps, into which wildfowl are allured, was introduced from Holland to England in the reign of James I. Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Sport and Games*, Ed. by the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, vol. II (London, 1911), article on "Decoys." Several species of land birds have been caught by means of decoy-birds. Cf., *e. g.*, "Gründliche Anweisung alle arten Vögel zu fangen, etc. Nebst Anmerkungen über Hervieux von Canassius Vögeln und Joseph Mitelli Jagdlust" (Nürnberg, 1754).

nets by decoy swans.[1] Of greater interest is the use which the old Germans made of tamed deer and of tamed urus and bisons as decoy animals in the hunt, a custom, the importance of which is vouched for by the old Frankish, Alamannic, and Langobardian laws. L. Reinhardt mentions this old Germanic mode of hunting in his book "Kulturgeschichte der Nutztiere." I find it convenient to cite him here:[2]

Ausserdem sprechen die Volksrechte der alten Deutschen von gezähmtem Rotwild—vornehmlich Hirschen—und gezähmtem Schwarzwild—speziell Wisent und Ur[3]—die zur Jagd gebraucht wurden. In welcher Weise dies geschah, darüber wird nichts gesagt, doch scheint es sich um Schiesshirsche oder Schiessbüffel gehandelt zu haben, d.h. solchen, die sich vom Jäger leiten liessen, der hinter ihnen gedeckt sich unter dem Winde dem gesuchten Wild so weit näherte, dass er mit Erfolg den Pfeil auf dasselbe entsenden konnte (sagittare). Man scheint damals mit Rotwild nicht nur an anderes Rotwild, sondern auch an Schwarzwild herangeschlichen zu sein. Dann musste das gezähmte männliche Wild in der Brunst auch schreien, und zwar sowohl die Hirsche als auch die Büffel. Vermutlich begab sich der Jäger mit seinem gezähmten Tier vor Tagesanbruch auf einen der ihm bekannten Brunstplätze, um sein Tier schreien zu lassen oder abzuwarten, bis die freien Tiere schrien und sein Tier ihnen antwortete. Vielleicht waren die zahmen Tiere in kleinen Gehegen gehalten und dienten dem Jäger dazu, wilde Verwandte herbeizulocken, damit er sie dann, wenn sie nahe genug herangekommen waren, abschiessen konnte. Der Römer Columella erwähnt in seinem zweiten Buche über Landwirtschaft, dass in Gallien zahmes Wild dazu diene, das frischgefangene Wild, das in einen der Riesenparks jenes Landes gesetzt war, an die Futterstellen zu gewöhnen. Möglicherweise dienten solche zahme Tiere auch als solche Schlepper, um ihre Verwandten an Futterstellen zu locken, wo sie abgeschossen zu werden vermochten.

Diese gezähmten Tiere wurden mit einem *treudis* oder *triutis* genannten Zeichen versehen, wodurch sie Frieden erlangten, so das sie nicht erlegt werden durften. Dabei stieg ihr Wert in dem Masse, als sie sich bei der Jagd bewährt hatten. Dementsprechend richtete sich auch der Betrag der Sühne im Falle der Entwendung oder Tötung. Wer bei den salischen und ripuarischen Franken einen auf der Jagd erprobten zahmen Hirsch entwendete oder tötete, der musste

[1] S. G. Gmelin, *Reise durch Russland zur Untersuchung der drey Natur-Reiche.* Vierter Theil (St. Petersburg, 1784), p. 142–144 (Anhang by Carl Hablizl).

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 549–550.

[3] May we suppose that the use of tamed oxen as decoys in the hunt was a feature characteristic of the initial stages of the domestication of oxen, although it persisted until the middle-ages? In that case, the hunter's culture has been of greater importance to the early development of the domestication of animals, than has been supposed by leading philosophers.

zur Sühne 45 Solidi bezahlen. War der Hirsch noch nicht auf der Jagd gebraucht worden, so betrug die Sühne bei den salischen Franken 35, bei den ripuarischen dagegen nur 30 Solidi. Im alamannischen und langobardischen Volksrecht wurde bei Entwendung eines zahmen Hirsches der neun—bezw. achtfache Betrag, *d. h.* die gebräuchliche Diebstahlsstrafe gefordert. Dabei galt eine zahme Hirschkuh nur als halb so wertvoll wie ein gezähmter Hirsch. Doppelt war die Strafe, wenn der getötete Hirsch zu seiner Zeit brunstete gegenüber einem solchen, der dies nicht tat.

In the later middle-ages, tamed deer were still used occasionally in hunting.[1] Since then, this hunting method has fallen into disuse in Europe; but similar modes of hunting have persisted in Asia until this day. In India, wild male elephants are lured into enclosures by means of tame cow elephants.[2] Of more interest for our problem is the use of tame mares as decoys in hunting the wild horse of the steppe[3] and the *dshiggetei* of Mongolia. G. Radde gives a vivid description of how Tungusian hunters manage to get within easy shooting range of the swift *dshiggetei*, who enters southeastern Transbaikalia (the Altangana plateau, south of the Onon and Borsa rivers) in the fall, in the rutting season. The Tungusian hunter selects a riding horse of a light yellow color and, having discovered a herd of *dshiggeteis*, he approaches stealthily as near as possible without being detected. He removes then the saddle from his horse, binds the hair of its tail together, so that it may appear like a *dshiggetei* (this animal having a tail of the donkey-type), and leads it to the top of a hill, where he leaves it grazing, hiding himself a short distance off with his gun ready. After a while, a male *dshiggetei* becomes aware of the horse, and taking it to be a female of his own race, he approaches in gallop, and falls an easy prey to the hunter's bullet.[4]

I find it probable that the use of decoy animals came to the Siberian hunters from the south. But the adaptation of this method to the hunting of reindeer would require special modifications, and could only be undertaken by men who were reindeer hunters and familiar with the ways and habits of the reindeer.

[1] Reinhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 569.

[2] *Encyclopaedia of Sport and Games*, vol. II, p. 177.

[3] Pallas, *Reise*, vol. I, p. 211.

[4] G. Radde, *Berichte über Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibirien*, p. 430–432.

It would not be very difficult to catch a few reindeer alive—this might be done, and has been done in different ways. Neither would it be impossible to tame young animals, especially fawns. The difficulty comes in at another point: how to bind this migratory animal to man?

As I have already stated, the reindeer could not live in a cage, like the captive bear among the Gilyak, nor in bands, like the young foxes which the Ostyak rear for the sake of the peltry.[1] Neither would the reindeer thrive in an enclosure, like other species of deer. It may be that the keeping of tame deer in the countries of early civilization[2] has in some way or other influenced the first steps in reindeer domestication; tame roe-deer exist in the Baikal region,[3] and it is well known that the maral deer is reared in captivity in Altai, its antlers being an important article of commerce in China. The reindeer, however, being a migratory animal, would not thrive in captivity; it is not kept in captivity by the reindeer nomads of the present day, and moreover, there is nothing in reindeer nomadism which would indicate that the reindeer was at any time kept permanently within enclosures or the like.

Furthermore, the reindeer hunters were themselves migratory. In order to make use of their tamed reindeer as decoys, they would have to take these with them. I find it probable, therefore, that the bond between man and reindeer did not arise through simple coercion from the reindeer's master, but rather through a sort of mutual interest.

It is true that man does not regularly provide food for his reindeer—only in extreme cases, the herdsman may cut down trees in order to procure lichens for his deer. Of more importance is the protection he affords his deer against beasts of prey, especially the wolf.[4] Jochelson and S'äroševski[5] tell us how the Tungus and

[1] Georgi, *Russland* (Leipzig, 1783), vol. I, p. 74.

[2] Laufer, p. 131–133. S. G. Gmelin (*Reise durch Russland*, vol. III, p. 486) says that in Persia it is customary to catch young red-deer, roes and fallow-deer and keep them as pets.

[3] Roe-deer have been kept in captivity by the Buriat at the Baikal lake, and that for purely economical reasons, the deer being caught when young and slaughtered for food later on. Cf. G. Radde, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

[4] *The Koryak*, p. 480.

[5] *Yakuti*, p. 148.

Yakut reindeer herd runs to the camp for shelter when wolves are around. In Lapland, herdsmen have told us that even the most untamed deer may come to the tent for protection when wolves attack the herd.[1] The reindeer may also approach the campfire in order to get the benefit of the smoke which keeps away the mosquitoes. In northern Asia, and in Lapland as well, the herdsmen sometimes make smoking fires in order to relieve the herd from the mosquito plague. Middendorff remarks that even wild animals may be attracted by fires, a circumstance well known to and utilized by hunters.[2] We must acknowledge that the fear of wolves and of mosquitoes would make the herdsmen and their camp not unattractive to the reindeer herd—and still we have to mention one curious thing which constitutes a strong bond between man and reindeer: this animal's peculiar appetite for salt and for human urine.

The craving of wild animals for salt is a well-known feature. Ledebour observed well-worn trails, whose existence was due to wild animals having through ages frequented certain places where the ground contained salt.[3] Johan Sievers relates that the elk hunters in the Yablonnoi mountains lay in wait for the elk at such places where the animals would come at night to lick salt.[4] We have already mentioned Middendorff's and Radde's account of Tungusian hunters salting the ground in order to induce the deer to frequent certain places.

The use of salt was evidently an expedient by which the hunters attracted game to their territories. This same means, and still more the other above-mentioned delicacy,[5] would serve to keep the

[1] Emilie Demant-Hatt, *Med Lapperne i Højfjeldet*, p. 71.

[2] Middendorff, *Reise*, vol. IV, p. 1389.

[3] Carl Friedrich von Ledebour's *Reise durch das Altai-Gebirge und die soongarische Kirgisen-Steppe* (Berlin, 1829), vol. I, p. 203.

[4] *Briefe aus Sibirien* (St. Petersburg, 1796), p. 63–64.

[5] The eagerness of the reindeer to obtain human urine is quite astonishing. When a herd of reindeer comes near to a Lappish camp, the animals search for the places where people have urinated, and scrape for urine. Even such animals as are not particularly tame may then go close to the tent, searching and scraping for this delicacy. The cry with which the Lappish herdsman calls his reindeer is *cus* (*i. e.*, urine). Cf. Emilie Demant Hatt, *Med Lapperne i Højfjeldet*, pp. 61, 114 and note 46. Cf. also, Middendorff, *Reise*, p. 1275: W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 483. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 85–86. Ric. J. Bush, *Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes* (New York, 1871), p. 279.

[6] The Soyot salt the ground for the benefit of their domesticated reindeer. Ø. Olsen, p. 57.

reindeer in a certain dependence upon man and his campsites, even in the very initial stages of reindeer breeding.

It might thus be comparatively easy for a tribe of reindeer hunters, not only to catch and tame a number of young reindeer, but also to keep hold of this troop of reindeer by invisible bonds of sympathy and dependence. Such relations would, however, not be established unless the possession of tame reindeer was a material and well recognized advantage to the hunter. And I find it exceedingly probable that the very first advantage, which appealed to the reindeer hunter and made him interested in the keeping of tame deer, was their usefulness as decoys.

By keeping a troop of tame deer on his territory, the hunter would attract wild deer to his land, especially in the pairing season. And instead of placing a deer-mask on his own head and playing the part of a deer himself when he went out hunting, he might now take one or more of his tame deer with him on his hunting expeditions, as it has actually been done to this day by Tungus and Samoyed reindeer hunters.

It was thus a mutual interest which led to that symbiosis of man and reindeer, called reindeer nomadism. The appetite for human urine made the reindeer a traitor to his own race; and the tame deer's valuable service made the hunter regard his tame reindeer as something which was to be spared and guarded. And by degrees, the hunter became a herdsman.

The tame reindeer's services were extended. A step of great importance was the training of the deer to the sledge. Without doubt, the reindeer hunters were using sledge dogs before they had tame reindeer, just as poor hunters in Siberia use the dog to this day. As I have already proven, we have every reason to assume that the reindeer succeeded the dog as a draught animal; the reindeer harness must have been evolved from the type of dog harness which was formerly prevalent in eastern Siberia and is still so in the Amur country. The reindeer sledges were also evolved from forms already present. The reindeer sledges of Siberia were probably all evolved from dog sledges, and I find it even likely that the peculiar Samoyed and Ostyak way of attaching the reindeer to the

sledge by means of a sort of tackle-block system, insuring that each deer does his share of the work, was taken over from dog driving.[1] The Lapp sled was, on the other hand, probably never used for dog driving; it was rather, in its primitive form, a hand-sled, drawn by the hunter himself, and is still sometimes used in this quality.

A custom which must have come in very early, is the use of ownership-marks, cut or bitten in the ears of the deer. This custom is universal among the reindeer nomads. K. B. Wiklund has given a full series of the elements contained in the ear-marks used by the Lapp of northern Sweden;[2] this series compares fairly well with the Tungusian ear-marks published by Pekarski and Tsv'ätkov.[3] It would seem likely that the custom of ear-marking has a common origin for all reindeer nomads; but there is no reason to suppose that they originated it themselves—ear-marks of a similar kind are widely used, not only by Scandinavian sheep-herders, but also by the Kirgis, who cut ownership-marks in the ears of their sheep and horses.[4] The question cannot be solved without a comparative analysis of all the ear-marks used in Asia and Europe—and for such an analysis, most of the material is not yet at hand.

Gelding by biting is another custom which must have come in very early, as it is general throughout the area of reindeer nomadism. The method has a very primitive appearance; I have not been able to find in the literature any instance of castration by biting practised by man upon any other animal than the reindeer. The Lapp herdsman may castrate his watch-dog, although this is an exemption, but he never does that by biting, he uses a knife. Neither do the Chukchi and Koryak dog drivers castrate their

[1] Cf. title figure in F. G. Jackson, *The Great Frozen Land*, or fig. 16, p. 57, in Ernst Hofmann, *Der nördliche Ural* with fig. 50 in O. Finsch, *Reise nach West-Sibirien* (Berlin, 1879).

[2] Published as a note, p. 175–177 in Emilie Demant-Hatt, *Med Lapperne i Højfjeldet.*

[3] *Publications de Musée d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 37.

[4] R. Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen and Turkmenen* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 50. About marking of sheep in Scandinavia, see O. V. Wennersten, Gotlands farmärken (*Meddelanden från Nordiska Museet*, Stockholm, 1898).

dogs by biting.[1] In the Altai, castration of horses is done with a knife.[2] The question where castration by biting originated and how it came to be used by the reindeer nomads, seems therefore to be a difficult one.[3] The reason why this simple method has remained in force is probably the fact that the deer suffers less than when the operation is performed with a knife. At least, Lappish herdsmen have told me, that some Lapp had tried to use a knife, but found it an inconvenient method because the animal lost too much blood by it.[4]

Castration is a valuable expedient in the process of taming the males which are to be used as beasts of burden. The old castrates are the most stable part of the herd; when the reindeer are driven into the enclosure, and does, fawns, and bucks are galloping round and round like horses in a circus, then it is curious to see the old castrates standing quietly in the midst of the herd, unmoved by the general uproar. Another effect of gelding it is that the castrates grow fatter and stronger than the ungelded males; as we are told by Pallas, the Samoyed used to half-castrate the tame bucks which were selected to fight with the wild bucks.

While the origin of ear-marking and castration cannot be determined by means of the material at hand, we do not need to be much in doubt with regard to milking and reindeer riding. As I have shown in the first part of the present paper, milking and riding must be comparatively recent features which the southern and central part of the north Asiatic reindeer nomads have adopted from horse and cow breeding; and in Lapland, reindeer milking arose in a similar way, under influence from the Scandinavians.

As a comparatively new feature we must regard the great size of the domesticated reindeer herds of the tundras and the Scandinavian mountains. The growth of the domesticated herds has run parallel to a gradual extinction of the wild reindeer. It would

[1] Bogoras, *op. cit.*, p. 103. W. Jochelson, *op. cit.*, p. 519.

[2] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, vol. I, p. 281.

[3] We have every reason for regarding castration by biting as a primitive method; animals, fighting with each other in the rutting season, may disable their rivals by this crude method of castration. Cf. Hahn, *Haustiere*, p. 48.

[4] Among the Samoyed of northern Russia, A. G. Schrenk saw the operation performed with a knife, *Reise*, vol. I, p. 541.

hardly be correct to suppose that this should be due to a gradual absorption of the wild reindeer into the domesticated herds. The disappearance of the wild reindeer is rather due to hunting and to the occupation of the pastures by domesticated reindeer herds. A certain amount of absorption has taken place, however.

It is a well-known fact that cross-breeding between wild and domesticated reindeer takes place often, and also that the offspring of such unions is highly valued by all reindeer breeders. It is probable that such cross-breeding has been a factor of great importance in the formation of local races of domesticated reindeer. At the period when reindeer nomadism spread over northern Eurasia, we must assume that the domesticated herds were small; and therefore their racial character would be strongly influenced through cross-breeding with wild stocks.

On the other hand, it seems that taming of wild reindeer is a difficult process which is but rarely attempted, except with young fawns. Tornäus relates an instance of such taming, which he evidently regarded as a remarkable occurrence:

> Some time before my childhood, one of the Birkarls [*i. e.*, Scandinavians, living among the Lapp and trading with them] happened to catch a wild reindeer-fawn which he kept alive and tamed it for his own use, so that he drove with it in one day 41 [Swedish] miles, which would usually be covered by three or four days of convenient driving.[1]

According to Lappish tradition, young reindeer fawns have sometimes been caught alive and brought up with the tame herd. I shall quote a passage from a manuscript by Johan Turi, which is being edited by Emilie Demant Hatt.

> The wild reindeer have been the food of the Lapp. And there is no difference between tame reindeer and wild reindeer; but as the reindeer have been taken under the herdsman's care, the wild reindeer have become tame, and then the name was changed from wild reindeer to reindeer.
>
> And furthermore I have heard, how they have got the wild reindeer domesticated: sometimes they have found many wild reindeer in the spring, at the calving season, and then they have scared them, and then the wild reindeer-does have run away, and the fawns have remained behind; and then they have taken the fawns and brought them to the herd, and then they are easily accustomed to be as tame as the reindeer.

[1] Johannis Tornäi, *Berättelse om Lapmarkerna*, cap. 15.

The Lapp have got wild reindeer in the spring, as baby fawns; they scared the flocks of wild reindeer in the spring, and the wild reindeer-does rushed across the rivers, and then the fawns did not dare to go into the river. And then they took the fawns and brought them to the herd, where there were aldos (*i. e.*, reindeer-does). And then the fawns lived awfully well if they sucked the aldos.

Jacob Fellman, the well-known church minister and man of science who lived in the Finnish Lapmark 1820–31, relates how it often happened that a tame reindeer joined a wild herd and was lost; and on the other hand, a wild reindeer was often caught within a tame herd, especially in the fall; but such a reindeer could hardly be tamed and used for driving if it was older than one or two years, and therefore it was generally shot.[1] It seems that wild bucks were killed, as a rule, when they had joined the domesticated herd in the pairing season.

The Chukchi consider the visit of wild bucks as a blessing, a token that Providence looks favorably upon the herd; and the herdsman strives to allure and detain, with charms and incantations, as long as possible the wild reindeer. The offspring from unions between wild and domesticated animals is highly valued by the Chukchi. The wild bucks who have joined the herd are killed, however, as soon as the rutting period is over.[2] The Koryak also slay the wild bucks visiting their herds. According to Sternberg, the Tungus of the Amur country domesticate wild reindeer; Jochelson finds this statement "worthy of little credence," however; he supposes that this report is due to a misunderstanding of the fact that wild reindeer are hunted by means of decoy deer.[3]

Ørjan Olsen states very definitely that the Soyot tame the wild reindeer which come into the herd. There is, however, some reason to believe that Ørjan Olsen may have made a mistake at this point. The domesticated Soyot reindeer live most of the time in the woods and are somewhat larger than the wild reindeer, who live in the mountains above the tree-line in summer; this seems to indicate a racial difference between the wild and the domesticated reindeer of

[1] Jacob Fellman, *Anteckningar under min vistelse i Lappmarken* (Helsingfors, 1906), vol. IV, p. 49.

[2] Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 74.

[3] Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 498.

the Sayan mountains; and in face of that, it becomes extremely unlikely that the wild reindeer should easily adopt the ways and habits of the domesticated deer who stand 40° Cels. down in the woods in summer. Ørjan Olsen does not mention any particular method of taming the wild reindeer, except that wild does are bound to trees and have their front and hind legs bound together when milking is taking place. It seems quite probable that Olsen, not knowing the Soyot language, may have misunderstood what he saw. In Lapland, young does, which are not accustomed to milking, must always undergo a sort of taming and are often bound to trees—they are in a way "wild." When Olsen states that wild reindeer are considered especially good for riding purposes, it seems probable that the animals in question were the offspring of cross-breeding between wild males and domesticated does—such unions are of frequent occurrence, also in the Sayan mountains.[1]

A large reindeer herd is the ultimate desire of every genuine old-fashioned mountain Lapp; reindeer luck is the form of happiness he understands and values. Therefore, the typical Lapp does not like to slaughter many reindeer, even if he is rich. The herd is still his standard of value and fortune, and his feelings towards his herd have still a semi-religious tinge; he loves his herd with a strong and mysterious love. This feeling is probably inherent in all reindeer nomads, and it is perhaps a common feature in all nomadism. If we want to understand the process which led to the development of the large reindeer herds of the tundras and the Scandinavian mountains, we must not forget the owner's love towards his herd; it was not exactly the want of draught animals nor of meat that prompted him to do his herdsman's work—it was rather the lust of ownership. The owner's love towards his possession imbued the nomad's mind so deeply that it became a part of his religion; and therefore, reindeer breeding not only placed his economic life on a more secure footing, but also gave to his spiritual life new riches, unknown to the reindeer hunter.

It is curious and sad to see, how this deep-rooted love of the herd becomes a hindrance to economic progress under modern

[1] Ørjan Olsen, *op. cit.*, p. 51, *seq.*

circumstances, because it is adverse to the full and rational utilization of the herd. Reindeer breeding might be a source of great income if two modern points of view were introduced: the size of a reindeer herd should not be larger than the size and quality of the pastures allow, and the ultimate object of reindeer breeding should be the largest possible meat production. Such modern rationalism is foreign to old Lapp ideals; without doubt, however, it will predominate in the course of time, and in that way a new, modern layer is being added to the series of cultural layers which constitute the evolutionary history of reindeer nomadism.

On the Age of Reindeer Nomadism

It will thus be seen that reindeer nomadism is the outcome of a long evolution whose different stages were due to different impulses. We cannot say that reindeer nomadism is simply the result of an imitative process, leaning towards horse and cow breeding; reindeer nomadism certainly has been influenced by impulses from horse and cow breeding, especially at a later period; but it has borrowed from dog breeding at a very early period, and some of its roots may be traced back into a period of reindeer hunting.

From Huei Shen's account of Fu-sang (Laufer p. 102–103), we know that reindeer nomadism in Siberia had already reached a stage characterized by regular milking in the fifth century of our era. As I have proven, regular milking must be reckoned among the younger elements of reindeer breeding. Therefore, we must assume that reindeer nomadism had already passed through a long evolution in A.D. 499. How many centuries this evolution had required, I shall not attempt to calculate. When Laufer asserts, that the domestication of the reindeer falls within the historical era, the meaning of this statement is not quite clear to me. Of course, Chinese history began long before the evolution of reindeer nomadism had taken its start; the region of northern Asia where the first steps were taken in reindeer nomadism, was not, however, at that time elucidated by the full light of history. If the beginnings of reindeer nomadism are not prehistoric, then it might as well be maintained that the older iron-age of Denmark was not

prehistoric, because southern Europe lay during that period within the full daylight of civilization, and Greece and Rome got occasional glimpses of information about northern Europe.

Reindeer nomadism, as described by the Chinese account of A.D. 499, had already reached a stage of evolution superior to that which must have been characteristic of the oldest Lappish reindeer nomadism—for we have good reasons to believe that the Lapp developed regular milking under Scandinavian influence. The Chukchi and Koryak likewise took over reindeer nomadism in a form older than that described by Huei Shen, and to this day the Chukchi and the Koryak do not practise milking, except where Tungus influence has been very strong.

If the Chukchi and Koryak took over reindeer nomadism from the Tungus, as Laufer asserts (p. 128), then this must have happened at a period when the Tungus reindeer breeders did not yet milk their reindeer nor use them for riding nor for carrying burdens. There is no reason whatever to believe that the Chukchi and Koryak should not have adopted these uses of the reindeer, if their first instructors had practised them. I do not doubt, that the Chukchi and Koryak, being originally people with a maritime culture, took over reindeer breeding from some inland tribe; I do not feel assured, however, that this tribe belonged to the Tungus, and I think this would be hard to prove.

There is somewhat more reason to believe, that it was the Samoyed who transmitted reindeer nomadism to the Lapp. The Samoyed form of reindeer harness reminds strongly of the old-fashioned Lappish form; and milking, which the first Lappish reindeer breeders probably did not practise, is not used by the northern Samoyed. It is not advisable, however, to regard the peculiar Lappish sledge as a cultural loan from the Samoyed, as Laufer does (p. 128). True enough, Olearius writes about the Samoyed:

> . . sie spannen dieselbe (*i. e.*, the reindeer) vor kleine leichte Schlitten, welche wie halbe Kahne oder Böthe gestalt, mit welchen sie über die masse schwinde rennen und fortkommen können.[1]

[1] Adam Olearius, *Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung der Muscowitischen und Persischen Reyse* (Schlessvig, 1656), p. 162.

But if we read Olearius's book, or at least his chapter on the Samoyed, then we find that this learned author had never witnessed Samoyed sled driving. Olearius never visited the country of the Samoyed; he saw two Samoyed in the month of July, 1643, in Moskva, where he had arrived in order to appear July 30, "in offentlicher Audientz" for the Zar. The two Samoyed had with them a few reindeer and some white bear skins which were to be delivered to the Grand Prince. They cannot possibly have come on sledges in the middle of the summer to Moskva. A part of what Olearius tells about the Samoyed, he learned from his interview with these two men, through a Russian interpreter; he did, however, supplement his material from the literature on northern nations; one of his literary sources was Olaus Magnus, *De Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, which he mentions in his chapter on the Samoyed. Olaus Magnus tells us nothing about the Samoyed, of course; but the ideas about the north and its ethnographic conditions were rather confused in those days—Olearius gives us afterwards a chapter on the Greenlanders, because they are so very similar to the Samoyed. It may be regarded as certain that Olearius statement about the Samoyed sledge is derived from Olaus Magnus' description of the Lapp sledge—just as the terrific illustration he gives of the Samoyed ski is based upon Olaus Magnus' curious pictures of the Lapland ski, showing the same ridiculous similarity to pointed shoes of a tremendous size.

At any rate, we need not entertain any doubt about the character of the Samoyed sledge in the seventeenth century. As early as 1594, the Dutch traveler Jan Huygen van Linschoten had the opportunity of seeing the Samoyed sledge, and he noticed the difference from the Lappish sledge. Linschoten probably did not see the Lappish sledge, as he met the Lapp in the month of June (on the island Kilduyn—*i. e.*, Kildin—near the Murman coast); but he knew Olaus Magnus' book, and the description and illustration he gives of Lappish reindeer driving[1] is evidently taken from

[1] *Voyagie ofte Schip-vaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten, van by Noorden om langes Noorwegen de Noortcaep, Laplant, Vinlant, Ruslandt etc.* Anno, 1594 en 1595 (Franeker, 1601), Fol. 4 and map of the island Kilduyn.

this book. He did meet with Samoyed reindeer drivers, however, on the south side of the Yugor straits, in July 1594; some of these sledges were drawn by three reindeer, some by two.[1] The illustration of the Samoyed sledge in Linschoten's book is certainly not free from errors—the harness of the reindeer is as faulty as in Olaus Magnus' illustrations of Lappish reindeer driving, and the sledge itself reminds one somewhat of a rocker. It is quite evident, however, that the Samoyed sledge, seen by Linschoten, had nothing in common with the Lappish sledge; it must have been of the same type as today. The sledge driving of the Samoyed farthest to the west, nearest to Lapland, was described before the end of the seventeenth century. A Norwegian trader, Slytter, made a journey A.D. 1693, from Kola on the Murman coast to Archangel and Cholmogory. He wrote down his observations on the road, and copies of his manuscript are still extant. Traveling along the southern shore of the White Sea, he met the Samoyed at the Onega bay, between the villages Kjanda and Nischmoserskaje; this fact has a special interest, because it shows that the Samoyed at the close of the seventeenth century went farther west than they did a century later. Slytter gives a brief description of the Samoyed as he saw them, and it appears that their tents, dress, and sledges had about the same character as now.

> They keep white reindeer and *do not ride in kjärris* [*i. e.*, the boat-shaped sled of Lappish type], but in small sledges on which man and wife are sitting together. Furthermore, they hitch two reindeer to one sledge.[2]

Slytter, being familiar with the Lappish kjärris, was evidently struck by the difference between that and the Samoyed sledge and made a note of it.

A few years later, in 1701, Corneille le Brun saw the Samoyed at Archangel and described and figured their tents, dress, and rein-

[1] *Op. cit.*, Fol. 11 and picture of Samoyed reindeer-driving on map of the coasts of northern Europe. In Sept., 1595, the Dutchmen made friends with the Samoyed near the Yugor straits and had the opportunity of riding in their reindeer-sledges (Fol. 30).

[2] Slytter's account of the Samoyed has been published by O. Solberg (Die Westgrenze der Samojeden am Ende des XVII Jahrhunderts, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 48, Jahrg., 1916, pp. 8–10).

deer driving, etc. His picture of the Samoyed sledge is not all bad, and shows no similarity whatever to the Lapp sledge.[1]

The Lappish reindeer sledge is a highly developed form, the finished result of a long evolution. It cannot have been developed from the Samoyed sledge; but certain sledge-forms of a more primitive character, used by the Lapp, the Finlanders of Österbotten and Karelen, and the Tsheremis, indicate the way in which the Lapp sledge was developed. I shall not enter here upon any discussion of the origin of the Lapp sledge; in my article "Lappiske Slædeformer," *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, vol. XXII (1913), I called attention to the fact that the Lapp in Vesterbotten use occasionally a sledge made of a whole reindeer-skin and another form consisting of a hollowed trunk. Shortly afterwards, U. T. Sirelius published (in *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*) his paper "Über einige Prototype des Schlittens," an ingenious piece of work, wherein he sets forth the theory (based upon ethnographical and archaeological material, mainly from Finland, Russian Karelen and the Tsheremis) that a certain primitive hunter's sledge, used in northern Finland and Karelen (lately found by me in northern Sweden also) was the prototype of the Lappish reindeer sledge. Sirelius goes even further and shows how the reindeer sledges of western Siberia may have been developed from a similar prototype. This latter part of his theory seems to me less convincing, but I think we may regard it as certain that the Lappish reindeer sledge is a perfection of the older hunter's sledge, which was—and is still—drawn by the hunter himself.

I do not agree with some authors who find in the peculiarity of the Lappish sledge a proof against the assumption that reindeer breeding came to the Lapp through the Samoyed; when the Lapp adopted reindeer driving, they would naturally take over the reindeer harness, but there was no reason for doing away with their old and in a wooded country very practical type of sledge.

At what time the Lapp adopted reindeer driving we do not know. When Herberstein and Olaus Magnus made known Lappish reindeer nomadism to the European public, in the sixteenth cen-

[1] *Voyage de Corneille le Brun par la Moscovie, etc.*, pp. 8–9 and fig. 9.

tury, reindeer driving was in full swing; even reindeer milking is pictured in Olaus Magnus book.

Ohthere's account, from the ninth century, does not say anything about reindeer driving or milking; but still, it tells us that Lappish reindeer nomads existed in Scandinavia in the ninth century.

Laufer's interpretation that the thing mentioned by Ohthere was

> merely the venture of a sportsman, who had an aesthetic pleasure in the animals, like a park owner in fallow deer (Laufer, p. 96),

contains at least two impossibilities. In the first place, a Norseman in Hålogaland in the ninth century would never think of keeping deer in a park. Such luxuries would not be in harmony with the cultural stage of the old Norsemen—the deer park is a feature characteristic of higher culture, the sagas do not tell us anything about deer parks. And then, the second and strongest objection to Laufer's interpretation is the fact that the reindeer is a migratory animal which cannot be kept in parks or enclosures. For that very reason, we can hardly believe that Ohthere himself tended his reindeer-herd. When we assume that it was the Lapp who tended Ohthere's reindeer, this theory is by no means baseless; it has been from early days and is still a recognized custom in northern Scandinavia, that Norwegians and Swedes own reindeer which the Lapp tend for them. A Norwegian or Swedish reindeer herdsman is a rare phenomenon, although reindeer breeding is recognized as a profitable business. During the last century, reindeer breeding has been attempted, partly with success, by Norwegian farmers on the Harang mountains; these reindeer owners know often very little about reindeer breeding, because the tending is done by Lappish herdsmen.[1]

For Ohthere, it would have been especially hard to tend his reindeer himself, because the reindeer, in the district where he lived, undertake long migrations across the difficult border-moun-

[1] Cf. Indstilling fra Fjeldbeitekomiteen om Harangviddens Utnyttelse (Kristiania, 1911), pp. 16 and 37 seq.

tains between Norway and Sweden. According to Gustav Storm,[1] we must assume that Ohthere lived at the strait between the island Senjen and the mainland. That region is still visited by reindeer-herds and by the Lapp every summer; they even cross the narrow straits and roam over the mountainous islands. But when fall draws near, the reindeer invariably leave the Norwegian coast and return to the mountains of the mainland, in order to pass the winter in the woods of northern Sweden.

When the night gets darker in the ocean woods, then the reindeer yearns for the mountains,

as the Lapp sing.[2] It even happens that the reindeer start on this journey earlier than the herdsmen like. In the summer of 1916, when we visited the Lapp on Kvalø, north of Senjen, our hosts complained that they could not keep the reindeer on the Norwegian pastures as long as they would like to—the animals had already begun to wander back towards the Swedish border before the end of August.[3]

I do not find any reasonable objection to the opinion set forth by Wiklund,[4] that just as the reindeer of today and their Lappish owners and herdsmen spend the summer in Tromsø Amt in Norway and the winter in Torne Lapmark in Sweden, so Ohthere's reindeer and herdsmen also passed the summer in Norway, the winter in Sweden. And there is no reason whatever to suppose that Ohthere's herdsmen were not Lapp; nor is there any reason to doubt that they owned reindeer themselves. This sort of arrangement, that Scandinavians own reindeer in the herds of the Lapp, is an old and well established custom in northern Scandinavia; it is not especially difficult for the Scandinavians to maintain such possessions, although they see the herd a few times only during the year. The

[1] Gustav Storm, Om opdagelsen af "Nordkap" og veien til "det hvide hav" (*Det Norske Geografiske Selskabs Aarbog*, v, Kristiania, 1894), p. 93.

[2] Emilie Demant-Hatt, *Med Lapperne i Højfjeldet*, p. 163.

[3] It is a beautiful sight to see when a reindeer herd crosses the narrow strait Rystrømmen between Kvalø and the mainland. The animals await patiently, of their own accord, the moment when the tidal current is on the turning point ("when the sea is full," as the Lapp say), and then they plunge into the water and swim across.

[4] K. B. Wiklund, *De Svenska Nomadlapparnas Flyttningar till Norge i äldre och nyare tid* (Upsala, 1908), p. 9.

Lappish nomads are dependent upon, and very anxious not to incur the illwill of the farmers and landlords whose domains they have to pass through.

The relations of Ohthere to the Lapp were similar to those which the Swedish Birkarls[1] maintained; the Lapp had to pay him tribute in skins, feathers, whalebone, rope of sealskin, and the like.[2] We must assume that there were then as now a Lappish fishing population living at the coast, and Lappish nomads in the mountains.

Two things of special interest in Ohthere's narrative about the reindeer are the size of his herd and the mention of decoy deer. The hunting of wild reindeer by means of decoy deer would naturally appeal strongly to the hunter and sportsman instincts of a Scandinavian; we notice, however, that Ohthere does not state that he himself had practised this sort of huntsmanship.

> These are much prized among the Finn, because they capture the wild deer with them.

Laufer seems to entertain some doubt as to the nationality of the Finn;" such doubt is quite unnecessary—in Norway, the word "Finn" means "Lapp" (the Finlanders are called "Kvän"). We learn from Ohthere's account that the Lapp hunted reindeer by means of decoy deer in the ninth century—and there is no reason to doubt that they used the same methods which were described in the seventeenth century by Tornäus and Rheen, and in the eighteenth century by Leem. This kind of hunting was undertaken mainly in the fall, in the rutting season; therefore it is quite probable that Ohthere had witnessed hunting with decoy deer in the Norwegian woods.

The number of Ohthere's reindeer herd, 600, is quite considerable for a Scandinavian reindeer owner. A rich Lapp may own several thousand reindeer; but a Norwegian or Swede seldom owns

[1] The "birkarlar" were Swedish traders, living far north in Sweden and having the privilege of trading with the Lapp and exacting taxes from them. They are mentioned as early as 1328 in a document about the administration of justice in northern Sweden. Cf. Isak Fellman, *Handlingar och Uppsatser angående Finska Lappmarken och Lapparne*, vol. III (Helsingfors, 1912), p. 336.

[2] A description of Europe, and the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, written in Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred the Great. Literal English translation by Joseph Bosworth (London, 1853), p. 12–13.

a very large number. Ohthere's statement shows us definitely that reindeer breeding in Scandinavia was *not* in the initial stage in the ninth century.[1] As I have proven above, we must assume that the tame reindeer herds were at first quite small and served mainly as decoys. This stage evidently had been passed in Ohthere's days; the tame reindeer herds were of a considerable size, and only a small part of the herd, specially trained, was used as decoy deer.

Why did Ohthere not tell King Alfred about any other uses of the deer?

In the first place, it is quite possible that Ohthere did not tell all that he knew. Our old forefathers were not ethnographers; our science does not appeal to practical men, it implies a certain degree of culture and refinement. In all Europe, very few men of the ninth century were able to appreciate ethnographic details. King Alfred was an unusual man—were it not for him, we should now have no direct historical evidence of reindeer-nomadism in Scandinavia earlier than the close of the fifteenth century.

It is, however, quite possible that Ohthere knew nothing about reindeer milking—this use of the reindeer may not have been developed among the Lapp of the ninth century. And we have no grounds for supposing that he might be familiar with reindeer driving; sleds are not used by the Lapp in summer when they visit these parts of Norway; the sleds and harnesses are left in the mountains in spring, and are not in use again until the beginning of the winter when the Lapp are returning to Sweden. That Ohthere himself should have any personal experience in reindeer driving, there is no reason to suppose. He was a sea-faring man, as the Norwegians are still in these parts. The country of the Northmen was a long and narrow coastal strip, the ocean was their highway. Ohthere speaks about the waste mountains between Norway and Sweden, and says that they are inhabited by the Finn (*i. e.*, the Lapp).

[1] I do not agree with J. A. Friis (*En Sommer i Finmarken, Russisk Lapland og Nordkarelen*, Christiania, 1880, p. 12) who finds the size of Ohthere's reindeer-herd inconsiderable and takes it as a proof of a slight development of reindeer breeding in the ninth century; we must remember that Ohthere was a Scandinavian; the herds of the nomads were probably larger than his.

He said that the country of Northmen was very long and very narrow. All that can be either pastured or ploughed lies by the sea, and that, however, is in some places very rocky; and, on the east, lie wild mountains along the inhabited land. In these mountains [wastes] Finns dwell. (Bosworth's translation, p. 13.)

That the Lapp lived in the mountainous wastes between Norway and Sweden, may be regarded as an additional proof of their being reindeer nomads in the ninth century. Hunting alone would not induce men to live or dwell (Anglo-Saxon: *eardian*) upon these mountains; hunters would inhabit the woods, and only make occasional excursions to the mountain wastes; nothing short of reindeer nomadism would allow a tribe to spend a part of the year above the forest.

The mountains were, of course, no insurmountable barrier to the Scandinavians. Ohthere mentions Sweden and Cwena land on the other side of the mountains, and he tells about wars between the Cwenas (probably a Finnish tribe) and the Northmen.

The Cwenas sometimes make war on the Northmen over the waste; sometimes the Northmen on them. There are very large fresh water meers beyond the wastes; and the Cwenas carry their boats over land into the meers, and thence make war on the Northmen. They have very little boats, and very light.

It appears that these warlike expeditions were undertaken in summer, the Cwenas using their light boats on the large mountain lakes of Swedish Lapland.[1] Therefore, even if Ohthere may have made journeys across the mountains, we have no reason to assume that such journeys were undertaken in winter, nor that he ever had any opportunity of seeing or practising reindeer driving.[2]

That reindeer nomadism is not mentioned in other historic documents from the first centuries of the middle ages, must be ascribed to the fact, already pointed out, that our forefathers were not ethnographers. The Lapp are mentioned occasionally in the

[1] Even today, the Lapp and Finlanders in northern Scandinavia use very light, narrow boats, which are carried around or steered through the rapids and very useful in traveling upon the rivers and lakes of Lapland. The Norwegians have never adopted this type of boat.

[2] Tore Hund, the relentless foe of king Olaf the Saint, knew probably more about the winter life of the Lapp. He had much intercourse with the Lapp, and had the reputation of being versed in witchcraft. We read in Heimskringla that Tore Hund visited the Lapp in winter, trading with them, and spent much time in the mountains in winter. Snorre, *Heimskringla*, ed. Finnur Jonsson (Copenhagen), vol. II, p. 440.

sagas and in the old laws; the Scandinavians held them to be a nation of dangerous witches, and the trade in skins and peltry from the Lapp had some importance and became a source of revenue to the kings. But what interest had the technique of reindeer nomadism to the Scandinavians? None whatever. And very few Scandinavians had any opportunity of observing the life of the nomads in the mountain wilderness.

It should not be denied that the sagas teem with information of a culture-historical value. But the life which they describe so faithfully, is the life of our own forefathers. The sagas often tell about journeys in foreign lands—but they do not contain any reliable information about the daily life of other nations, although they—unconsciously—give a vivid and truthful picture of the life in Scandinavia and Iceland in the days of old.

We must not expect to find more than a distorted and faint trace of knowledge of reindeer nomadism in the sagas. And such a faint trace is found. In *Saga Ketils hængs*, one of the *Fornaldar Sögur*, Ketil hæng is overtaken by the Lapp chieftain Gusa who is riding in a wagon with two reindeer.[1] Reindeer driving is also mentioned in a tale, written down about 1200 by the Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus. In the third book of Saxo's *Historia Danica*, we read about the Swedish king Hotherus, Balder's rival, who goes to the satyr Miming for a magical sword; on his way thither, Hotherus must put harts to his cart, that they may bring him quickly over the frozen mountains.[2] Axel Olrik recognizes in the harts, pulling Hother's cart, the Lappish reindeer; and he com-

[1] *Fornaldar Sögur Nordrlanda*, eptir gömlum handritum utgefnar af C. C. Rafn, Vol. II, p. 118–119 (Copenhagen, 1829).—From the verses, with which Ketil greets Gusa, we learn, however, that Gusa was riding in a sledge; and there is reason to believe that the verses represent the older part of the story. Dr. Valtyr Gudmundsson has kindly assisted me in translating the verses:

"Creep from the sled,
stop the reindeer,
thou late traveler,
say what thy name is."

It is supposed that the verses date from the thirteenth century.

[2] "Jubet itaque, cervis jugalibus currum instruat, cujus celeritate eximio gelu rigentia juga trascendat." Saxonis Grammatici Historia Danica, ed. P. E. Müller (Copenhagen, 1839), vol. I, p. 114.

pares this instance to the reindeer driving of Gusa in the above-mentioned Icelandic saga.[1]

Eduard Hahn,[2] and after him Laufer are laying much stress on the absence of reindeer nomadism in the Finnish epic *Kalevala*, of which Laufer says that it gives

> a true picture of the primeval cultural conditions in which the Finn lived prior to their christianization (A.D. 1151), also a description of their relations to the Lapp (Laufer, p. 100–101).

This statement contains a serious misconception. Kalevala, the epic edited by Lönnrot in 1849 (the enlarged second edition), consists of a number of Finnish traditional songs, collected by Lönnrot and others, chiefly in Karelen, and fitted together by Lönnrot, who made certain alterations and additions of his own, so that the collection might appear as a whole, while the elements from which it was composed certainly never constituted an epic whole. Lönnrot's work was at first regarded as an epic of the same kind as the Eddas, the Odyssey, and the Iliad, etc., and it was maintained that Kalevala gave a true picture of the religion and culture of the Finn prior to their christianization. Modern folklore, the science which has in Finland some of its ablest workers, has dispelled this illusion. The culture-historical value of Kalevala, or rather of the traditional songs upon which it is based, is certainly immense. The songs, the magic formulas, all the rich store of tradition brought together by the faithful collectors of Finnish folklore, give us a wealth of information about the inner and outer life of the Finn. That the songs should have been preserved unaltered through many centuries, until they were written down, we have no reason to believe, however. It is a well-known fact that the folk-singers would change the form of the songs and thereby also the contents—this explains the immense number of variants; even Lönnrot was aware of that, and found himself justified thereby in altering, combin-

[1] Axel Olrik, *Sakses Oldhistorie, Norröne Sagaer og Danske Sagn* (Copenhagen, 1894), p. 22.

[2] *Die Haustiere*, p. 263, note 1.

ing and making additions to the songs, just as the bards themselves did.[1]

As this is the truth about Kalevala, we should not regard this epic as a true and perfect picture of the Finn before christianization. And to regard the descriptions of Lapland and the Lapp, contained in Kalevala, as realism, would be perfectly ridiculous.[2] Nobody who has any knowledge about the Lapp will recognize Lappish conditions in these descriptions. See, *e. g.*, twelfth song, verses 390–402, where Lemminkäinen has arrived in Pohjola (the north) and visits the Lappish witches and wizards. The whole scene is Finnish: a wooden house with a large room, benches along the wall and at the fireplace. One thing only might be Lappish: the wizards are singing; this feature is, however, even more characteristic of Finnish wizards. If we should regard Kalevala as a source of knowledge of the primeval conditions of the Lapp, then we should believe that the Lapp lived formerly as well-to-do Finnish peasants; and this is perfectly absurd, of course. Just as the cultural background of the sagas is Icelandic and Scandinavian, so the background of the Finnish traditional songs is Finnish.

It would not be fair to expect more than a faint glimmering of knowledge about reindeer breeding in these songs. And this faint glimmering is there. In the third song of Kalevala, in the poetic tournament between Väinämöinen and Joukahainen, the latter sings (verses 165–170): If this does not satisfy you, then I know furthermore something else, I know one thing more:

> In Pohja (*i. e.*, the north) there is ploughed with reindeer, but in the south with a mare, and far away in Lapland with an elk.

Here the reindeer is set up as the Lappish equivalent of the horse.

[1] The literature on Kalevala is unfortunately largely published in the Finnish language (Kaarle Krohn, *Kalevalan runojen historia*, Helsingfors, 1903–10). Besides D. Comparetti's *Il Kalevala* (Roma, 1891), cf. K. B. Wiklund, *Om Kalevala och forskningarna rörande detsamma*, (Stockholm, 1901), "I Kalevalafrågen," (Uppsala, 1902), Kaarle Krohn, "Zur Kalevalafrage" (*Finnish-Urgrische Forschungen* vol. 1, p. 3. Helsingfors, 1902), F. Ohrt, "*Deseks første Sange of Kalevala, oversatte og indledede*" (Copenhagen, 1902).

[2] Abercromby has rightly observed that, in the Finnish songs, the term Lapland is generally used in quite a vague sense as the dark, northern land of sorcery and magic. John Abercromby, "*The pre- and proto-historic Finns*," vol. 1, pp. 318 seq. (London, 1898).

That a peasant of Karelen may entertain the idea that the Lapp train the reindeer to a plough, is not surprising. I do not quote this passage as a proof of the antiquity of reindeer nomadism in Scandinavia; but it may serve as an amendment to Laufer's statement, that in Kalevala

> there is not the faintest allusion to reindeer kept in captivity under the control of man (p. 101).

Ohthere's account of Lappish reindeer-nomadism stands alone as a historic document; but it is corroborated perfectly by the science of philology.

That the Lapp already lived in close proximity to the Scandinavians at a period when the language of the oldest rune inscriptions was spoken, *i. e.*, before A.D. 800, was proven by the eminent Danish philologist Vilhelm Thomsen.[1] The Lappish language contains a considerable number of culture-words which must have been borrowed from the Scandinavians at that period. K. B. Wiklund[2] has shown that some of these loan-words indicate that the Lapp were reindeer nomads at the time when the words were borrowed; among these words is the Lappish word for "tame," *dames*, used not for the domesticated reindeer as distinct from the wild reindeer, but only of the reindeer trained to the sledge and carrying burdens. It is evident that the Lapp would have no use for such a word at a period anterior to their adoption of reindeer breeding.

That reindeer nomadism existed in Scandinavia in the ninth century, and even somewhat earlier, may accordingly be regarded not as a mere hypothesis, but as a solid fact.

In conclusion, I would like to point out the fallacy of one of the arguments which has often been set forth in support of the theory that reindeer nomadism is of very recent origin: the slight degree of domestication. It is quite true that the reindeer is not so perfectly domesticated as is the cow and the horse, but this has nothing to do with the age of reindeer-nomadism. The reason for the imperfectness of reindeer domestication is to be found in two other

[1] Vilhelm Thomsen, *Den gotiske sprogklasses indflydelse paa den finske* (Copenhagen, 1869). Cf. the German edition (*Über den Einfluss der Germanischen Sprachen auf die Finnisch-Lappischen*, Halle, 1870), p. 119–120.

[2] K. B. Wiklund, *De svenska Nomadlapparnas Flytningar*, etc., p. 7.

factors, *viz.*, the reindeer's migratory nature, and the descent of reindeer nomadism from reindeer hunting. Reindeer nomadism often shows a certain tendency to degeneration into reindeer hunting. In Nicolai Lundii Lappi descriptio Lapponiæ (manuscript in the Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, ed. by K. B. Wiklund in *Svenska Landsmålen*, vol. XVII), one of the sources of Schefferus, we read:

> The rich Lapp have so many reindeer, many thousands, that they never get hold of them, but have to shoot them with guns or with bow and arrow when they shall slaughter them.

A similar reversion to the hunting stage has taken place in late years in Herjedalen, where the reindeer have become wild, because the Lappish owners have not been sufficiently eager and careful in tending their herds, or rather because the Lapp have become sedentary and therefore do not use the reindeer for transport and at the same time have given up regular milking. In Herjedalen, the reindeer are now shot with guns instead of being slaughtered with the knife, and it is deemed necessary to kill off the old stock of reindeer and introduce tame animals from another district.

Careful tending is necessary, in order to prevent the reindeer from becoming wild. But on the other hand, the reindeer requires a great amount of freedom in order to thrive. As a Lapp in Vesterbotten said to me:

> The reindeer is a half-wild animal, and he thrives best when we do not bother him too much.

Reindeer nomadism may perhaps maintain itself in certain parts of the northern countries for many centuries or millenniums to come; but I doubt whether this animal will ever become very much more domesticated than it is now.

In order to prevent misunderstanding, I must add, that I do *not* regard reindeer nomadism as a very ancient form—I am quite sure that it is *comparatively* young. As I have pointed out in my paper on moccasins (*Mem. Am. Anthr. Ass.* vol. III, no. 3, p. 249), reindeer nomadism and the ski are among the north Asiatic cultural elements which did not reach America; they both stopped among the Chukchi. This is all the more striking, because certain methods of hunting reindeer are the same in northern America and in northern Eurasia.

Reindeer were hunted through long ages in Eurasia, before reindeer nomadism arose. That the paleolithic reindeer hunters of Europe were not reindeer nomads, may be judged from the absence of any evidence to the contrary.[1]

a b

FIG. 11.—A. Shed antler of uncastrated male reindeer. Note the form of the root-end. B. Shed antler of castrated male. Note the form of the root-end.

[1] Apropos the paleolithic reindeer, I should like to point out a curious feature, which is characteristic of the antlers of every castrated reindeer, and which might be of archaeological interest. When a Lapp finds a shed reindeer antler, he sees at a glance whether the animal was castrated or not. My Lapp friends have taught me the criterion which they use in such a case. A shed horn of an uncastrated male reindeer has at the root such a form as is seen from fig. 11, *a*. On a shed horn of a castrated reindeer, the root has a different form—the blunt projection or neck below the "cabbage" is entirely lacking, and there may even be a shallow cavity from below, *cf.* fig. 11, *b*. The Lapp believe this criterion to be unfailing, and I agree with them, as far as my little experience goes. It seems to me, that this criterion may be of some interest to archaeologists. I have had the opportunity of seeing a few fossil shed antlers of male reindeer, from Denmark and from France, and they all had the "neck," and a Lapp would deem them to be the antlers of uncastrated males. Shed antlers of the Greenland caribou have also the "neck," although in a less marked degree than the European forms. I feel convinced, *a priori*, that all root-ends of paleolithic reindeer-antlers show this mark. For archaeologists in northern Eurasia it may, however, have some value to be able to judge whether a shed reindeer-horn has belonged to a castrated male or not. Castration of reindeer would, of course, indicate reindeer domestication. The Lapp also maintain that the antlers of castrated reindeer have a looser and less regular texture and therefore are less fit as material for carving, than the antlers of uncastrated males; this criterion does not seem to be reliable, however, and would not be of any use in the case of fossil antlers.

COPENHAGEN,
March, 1918

Postscript

Since these notes were written and sent to the *American Anthropologist*, two important contributions to the subject of reindeer nomadism have come to my notice.

U. T. Sirelius's "Über die Art und Zeit der Zähmung des Renntiers," *Extrait du Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, (Helsinki, 1916) was unknown to me when I wrote my paper; it has been difficult or impossible during the war to get books from Finland. Sirelius is of the opinion that reindeer domestication was evolved on the basis of a hunter's culture. In the use of tame reindeer as decoys in the reindeer hunt, Sirelius finds the very beginning of reindeer domestication; the use of the reindeer as a beast of burden came next, and later on the keeping of large herds.

"Mir scheint also, dass die Zähmung des Renntiers als eines Hülfsmittel bei der Jagd angefangen und weiterhin als eines Herdentieres fortgesetzt worden ist."

That Sirelius and I have arrived, independently, at very similar theories regarding the initial stage of reindeer breeding, is very encouraging to me.

Sirelius maintains that the first steps in reindeer breeding were taken at a very early period. In Finnish moors, some very interesting sled runners have been found, dating from the Finnish stone age. One of these runners, found at Saarijärvi, must have belonged to a reindeer sled, according to Sirelius; it is too big and heavy for a dog sled, and as the horse did not exist in Finland in those days, the sled must have been hauled by reindeer. Accordingly, Sirelius asserts: "Sicher steht, dass das Renntier schon während der finländischen Steinzeit als Last—und Zugtier benutzt worden ist."

I confess that I am not yet convinced of that. It seems to me that the Saarijärvi sled is not proof enough. If, however, reindeer domestication existed in the Finnish stone age, the archaeologists of Finland will certainly make that evident some day. Perhaps it might be useful to look out for shed antlers of castrated male reindeer (cf. fig. 11).

Sirelius is of the opinion that one step in the evolution of reindeer breeding consisted in the taming of herds of wild reindeer, caught within large enclosures. At this point, I cannot agree with him. The widely distributed hunting method, which consists in driving the game into an enclosure through a funnel-shaped entrance, has certainly had some influence upon the technique of reindeer tending, as I have pointed out in my notes; I find it, however, improbable that a systematic taming of wild reindeer herds within large enclosures has taken place at any time. The biology of the reindeer would make such a procedure extremely difficult or impossible, and I do not find anything in the culture complex of the reindeer nomads that would suggest this process of reindeer domestication.

K. B. Wiklund's "Om Renskotselns Uppkomst" *Ymer, Tidskrift utgiven av Svenska Sällskapet for Antropologi och Geografi*, (Årg. 1918, H. 3.) contains an analysis of different forms of reindeer domestication. Wiklund advocates the opinion that reindeer domestication arose independently within several areas. Wiklund regards the reindeer breeding of the Chukchi and Koryak as autochthonous and of another origin than the Tungusian and Soyotian reindeer domestication, in which he sees a result of cultural influence from Turko-Mongolian horse breeding. Among the Samoyed and Ostyak, Wiklund finds another type of reindeer domestication, independent of the Tungusian or Soyotian type. And finally, he thinks it improbable that any culture-historical connection ever existed between the reindeer breeding of the Lapp and any Siberian form of domestication. Wiklund's analysis contains many valuable details. I agree with him in the necessity of thorough analysis and careful distinction between the different forms and elements from which the highly complex phenomenon "reindeer domestication" is composed. I find it probable, however, that we shall find a fundamental layer, common to all reindeer breeding, and that a thorough study of the numerous forms and elements shall make it clear, some day, how a primitive type of reindeer domestication was changed through external cultural influences and local development. The reindeer plays, however, such a great part in the life

and culture of the reindeer nomads, that a full elucidation of reindeer domestication would involve a very great contribution to the culture-history of northern Asia and Europe. Ethnographers, archaeologists, and linguists will have to collect much material and solve many riddles before we shall know all about reindeer nomadism.

G. H.

July, 1919.

IMPERSONATION OF POTSHROWISHT SHIWANNA.

Reproduction from water colors by Father Michael Dumarest.

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NOTES ON COCHITI, NEW MEXICO

BY

FATHER NOËL DUMAREST

With a preface by STEWART CULIN

Translated and edited by ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

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PREFACE

The following notes on Cochiti by the Rev. Noël Dumarest were translated from an unpublished manuscript which the writer received from the Rev. Michael Dumarest at Albuquerque, New Mexico in September, 1905. They accompanied a collection of masks and ceremonial objects from Cochiti which Father Dumarest had secured during his residence in Cochiti and which are now in the Brooklyn Museum. A portion of the collection had been disposed of previously to the National Museum at Washington.

The notes have been an object of solicitude to the writer, in whose care they remained. He now desires to express his thanks and gratitude to Dr. Parsons who has made them accessible. The following sketch of the life of the author was written by his brother, the Rev. Michael Dumarest of Watsons, New Mexico.

The Rev. Noël Dumarest was born at Lyon, France, December 25, 1868. After studying at Lyon and Rennes he was ordained at Lyon, May 27, 1893, and arrived at Santa Fé, New Mexico, July 4th of the same year. He was sent to Anton Chico as assistant on the 7th of July and to Peña Blanca as pastor on January 1st, 1894 where he was in charge of the Indian pueblos of Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe and the Mexican towns of Peña Blanca, Bayada, Madera, Blend, Chili, Wallace, Tejon, Dolores, Golden, and San Pedro. The latter four stations, after two years, were transferred to the Rev. P. Gilberton of Santa Fé, allowing Father Dumarest to devote more attention to the Indians in his jurisdiction, an arrangement made possible through the generosity of Mother Catherine Drexel. From that time, about 1896, he lived almost constantly in touch with his Indians, and the large church at Santo Domingo was built through his efforts.

He helped his parishioners through the long epidemic of "los frios" or malaria, both as a priest and a physician, and finally contracted the disease. In May, 1900, his health becoming poorer,

he was transferred to Springer, deeply regretting that he was compelled to leave his friends, the Indians, to whom he had devoted himself. His condition not improving, he was compelled to leave his parish and go to the hospital at Santa Fé. From here, at the suggestion of his brother, he left for France where he received the best of medical care. After a year and a half he thought himself strong enough to return to take up some work with the Indians at Banning, California where the Bishop of California appointed him. When on his way to his new post he was met by his brother who found his condition so serious that he took him to St. Joseph hospital at Albuquerque where he died, January 13, 1903. He was buried at Peña Blanca.

STEWART CULIN

NOTES ON COCHITI, NEW MEXICO

By FATHER NOËL DUMAREST

BIRTH AND CONFINEMENT

A PREGNANT woman or a woman who desires a child receives from the *shiwanna*[1] an *oaka*[2] together with a miniature cradle (pl. VI, fig. 3). The *oaka* is a wooden cylinder usually with a rudely made face at the top (pl. VI, fig. 3; fig. 12 *a*). Female *oaka* are surmounted by a terrace pattern[3] which represents the board headdress worn by women dancers[4] (pl. VI, fig. 3; fig. 12 *b*). The woman will carry the *oaka* on her back as she would a baby. She will say to it, "Oh how you cry, you keep me from doing anything. Your father is coming already. He will have nothing to eat. Come, let me put you in the cradle, to get something to eat." She rocks it. She may take it to bed with her. If the woman die, the *oaka* is buried or hidden with her other things.[5] The *oaka* are the spirits of children sent at death to *wenima*.[6] Their spirits issue from the caves[7] or from *shipapu*.[8]

[1] Masked dancer. See p. 174.—Ed. Editorial notes will be indicated as in the foregoing instance or enclosed in brackets.

[2] *Uwak* is at Laguna and Sia the term for "baby." At Laguna it also refers to the "dolls" given by masked dancers. (Elsie Clews Parsons, "Ceremonialism at Laguna," *Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. XIX, pt. 3.) The custom occurs among the Zuñi and the Hopi. Its character as a phallic practice as well as an expression of imitative magic has hitherto not been noted.—Ed. Since writing the foregoing note the Editor has paid a visit to Zuñi and learned that here, as at Cochiti, a *wiha* (baby) may be given to an expectant mother.—Ed.

[3] At Zuñi feather-sticks with terraced top and called *wiha* (baby) are put in house shrines. With both this type of feather-stick and the *wiha* or *uwak* or *oaka* given by dancers, figs. 12 *b*, 12 *c*, have traits in common. A like stick collected by me in Laguna (fig. 12 *d*) was referred to by one informant as a feather-stick (*hachamuni*), and by another, as an *uwak*. For comparative purposes see fig. 13.—Ed.

[4] See p. 182. [5] See p. 168. [6] See p. 172.

[7] Hopi and Zuñi data render this statement less obscure. Hopi children are buried in rock crevices. (P. E. Goddard, *Indians of the Southwest*, p. 105. New York, 1913.) The "baby" given to a Zuñi woman is subsequently referred to as "the heart of the child" and scupulously cherished.—Ed.

[8] See p. 172.

A pregnant woman will wear a turkey feather in her belt that the child may be born with much hair on his head. The turkeys, they say, have the power to take the hair of little children in their beaks and to pull it to make it grow.[1]

After birth, the infant is washed. The cord is fastened and the end burned with the embers of a cob of young corn. The whole

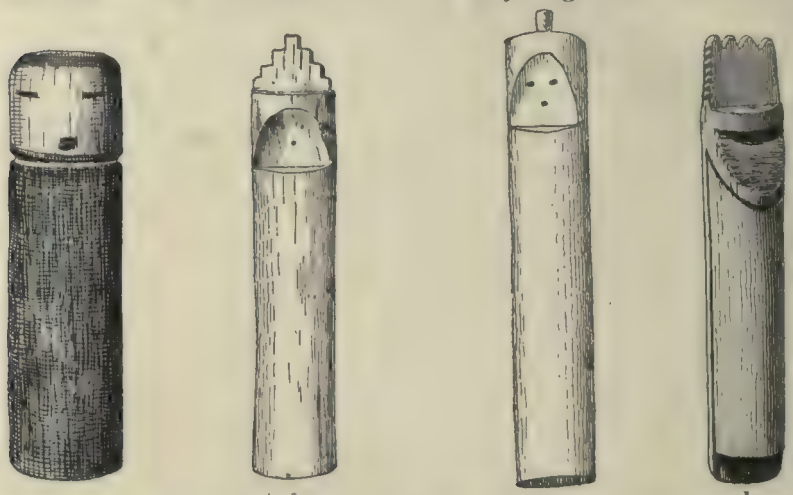


FIG. 12.—*a*, *Oaka* (male) in Brooklyn Institute Museum. Height, 7⅛ inches. *b*, *Oaka* (female) or *hachamuni* in Brooklyn Institute Museum. Height 9⅞ inches. *c*, *Oaka* (male?) or *hachamuni* in Brooklyn Institute Museum. Height, 10 inches. *d*, *Uwak* or *hachamuni* from Laguna in the American Museum of Natural History. Height, 6½ inches.

body is anointed with grease, grease of any kind, to preclude a malady very common hereabouts called *kashtrate* (eczema).

The infant is put on a cradle board (*ouetsine*). Next to the child lie an ear of corn, a *kotona*[2], and a *maneador*[3] or *payakani*[4] which are the guardians of the child against witches.

[1] At Laguna willow cuttings may be put in the hair washing suds to make the hair grow long.—ED.

[2] A completely kernelled ear of corn. See p. 155. Corn is placed next to an infant at Sia (M. C. Stevenson. "The Sia," p. 140. *Eleventh Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*) (1889–90), and at Laguna. At Zuñi, on leaving an infant alone, an ear of corn might be placed near it on guard. Here it is the ear which is flattened and branching at the tip.—ED.

[3] A stick used to stir corn in cooking. It is used likewise by Mexicans. (See fig. 14.)

[4] At Laguna a *paikani* is said to be a stick for stirring not the pot but the fire,

FIG. 1.—Mask of *ahaye*.

FIG. 2.—Mask of *potshrowisht* (lightning) *shiwanna*.

FIG. 3.—*Oaka* (female) in cradle. Length, 19½ inches. Similar objects are in the Dumarest collection in the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences Museum.

FIG. 4.—Mask of the *quirana* society.

FIG. 5.—Wooden image of *oshasha payatyama*. Height, 12 inches.

Reproduced from water colors by Father Michael Dumarest.

At the birth a fire is lit not to be extinguished for four days. During this time a man must guard the lying-in woman for fear lest the witches carry the child away and make a witch of him.

To give the child an Indian name, a godfather (*kanarshtia*)[1] and a godmother (*kanaia*) are invited. Subsequently the same

FIG. 13.

FIG. 14.

FIG. 13.—Stone image from the Tewa collection in the American Museum of Natural History. The insets for the eyes are turquoises. Height, 2¼ inches.

FIG. 14.—*Payakani* (stirring stick) in Brooklyn Institute Museum. Length, 16¼ inches.

persons act at the baptismal font. The mother of the infant carries him.[2] They go out at dawn. They offer shell[3] to the rising sun, to the mountain lion,[4] to the bear, to the badger, to the wolf, to the eagle, to the *maitupo*.[5] They sprinkle to the north, west,

i. e., it is a poker. It gets its *kokimuni*, supernatural power, from the fire. Together with an ear of corn of which it is said to be the protector, it is laid alongside the corpse. See p. 166. I know a Laguna woman who, when she is alone over night, sleeps with a *paikani* alongside as a protector, a magical protector.—ED.

[1] His father (his mother). Ceremonial parents are similarly called at Zuñi.—ED.

[2] [In another passage the author states that] the godmother carries the infant, the godfather taking him to offer him to the Sun.

[3] "Sacred meal" as Stevenson calls it, meal mixed with shell, Father Dumarest usually calls "*conque*," shell. This is closer to the Zuñi term, *klo'o*, hard. At Laguna shell mixture, corn pollen, and corn meal may be offered separately.—ED.

[4] The animals associated with the six directions are named. See p. 210.—ED.

[5] *Maitubo* is shrew at Sia. ("The Sia," p. 130.) At Zuñi *maitupo* may also be given as the animal of the nadir.—ED.

south, east, to the zenith and nadir. Then the godfather says, to the *kopershtaia payatyama*, if it is a boy, to the *kopershtaia kochinako*,[1] if it is a girl: "There has been born a male (or female) infant of clan (*hanutsh*).... We offer him to you, so that when he grows up and begins to talk and asks good fortune of you, you may recognize[2] him by his name. We give him the name of ——— ."

The rôle of the man who has guarded the woman in confinement is finished; the woman may stay by herself; but alongside the child the *kotona* and the *maneador* should remain. They are thought of as *yaya*,[3] mothers, because they are sources of life, the *kotona* in giving itself to be eaten, the *maneador* in stirring the corn. To the hood of the cradle two chaparral-cock feathers are attached. They have been dressed by *chaiani*[4] the Day of the Epiphany (*Le Jour des Rois*), for they are to protect against the attacks of witches. Because the chaparral-cock has a track the direction of which cannot be inferred, he is able to thwart pursuit by witches, the cause of all evils.

TRAINING OF CHILDREN

A child is taught to get up early, to go and wash his face in the river, not to be lazy, to offer shell to the *kopershtaia* in return for good fortune and good health. Sometimes, in the midst of winter, the child's father will take him and, after breaking the ice, with the gay cry of the bathers[5] will immerse him in the river.[6] Formerly when, in winter, children came from bathing in the river they

[1] See pp. 208–9.

[2] At Laguna the face of the dead is said to be painted so that the Mother will recognize the deceased, and newly elected officials offer feather-sticks to get supernatural recognition.—ED.

[3] At Laguna *yaya* is a "baby word" for *naiya*, mother. Borrowed by Hopi and Zuñi, it is, at Tusayan, a term for certain priests, at Zuñi, a term for a ceremonial.—ED.

[4] See p. 187.

[5] My informant said that the water would be so cold that he could only cry out "*ou houl*" instead of imitating his father's "*hou ha ha ha ha!*"

[6] Cp. E. C. Parsons, "The Zuñi A'doshlĕ and Suuke," *American Anthropologist*, N.S., vol. XVIII (1916), p. 344. The Zuñi practice may be an instance of a survival in ceremonial. At Laguna I heard recently of a ducking through river ice for ritualistic offense, but whether as punishment or as purification I do not know.—ED.

were not allowed to approach the fire until their hair was thawed out. Formerly discipline was very severe.[1] Children had to get up with the first cock crow. Little girls were not allowed to sit down. To them they would say, "Wait until you have a belt (*i. e.*, woman's dress) before you sit down."

With war in mind, the war captain kept a close watch on the youths. He forbad smoking, since the habit lessened the ability to run fast and far.[2] He measured their food and drink. In eating he would have them squat with a stick across the belly—a method of cheating the appetite. He would have them wait three or four hours without quenching their thirst[3] except by putting pebbles in their mouth or an herb which keeps the mouth fresh. Nowadays hunters in their long trips in the Rocky mountains crush this herb and put it over their stomach.

At a certain place on the river[4] the old men (*les anciens*) would bathe the boys of fourteen or fifteen. Sometimes boys had courage enough to go alone to this place. It was believed that if anyone had the courage to bathe himself and not to run away for four consecutive nights, and to bear without fear the touch of a man in the guise of a fish (but the touch seemed to be of a man), then he was sure of not being wounded in war. If he ran when he felt a touch, he would be wounded or die. When he came back from bathing he was not to look behind,[5] and he had to arrive quietly at the pueblo. Were he to look behind, he would see a very vile thing and he would die. The father of my informant said that he had been to this place and that two things had risen above the water and that these things appeared to have the face of a man.

In the evening the old people tell the children interminable myths, ever recommending to them piety toward the *kopershtaia* and fidelity to custom.

[1] At Santo Domingo the severity is still maintained.

[2] The right to smoke was undoubtedly connected in Pueblo Indian culture with warrior status.—Ed.

[3] Cp. E. C. Parsons, "Mothers and Children at Laguna, New Mexico," *Man*, vol. XIX (1919), p. 38.—Ed.

[4] See p. 208.

[5] It was a war practice among the Zuñi to go to the river at night and sit and listen for omens and on withdrawing not to look behind.—Ed.

OCCUPATIONS

The women grind the cereals, and cook. With a flat stone, they spread the floor with earth mixed with water or with the blood of cattle. Pottery making is their only art.

Early in life men take to the heavy labors of the field in which they are unrivaled. They excel in the arts of the hunt, using the most rudimentary weapons, bows or antiquated guns. Traps made of planks placed in equilibrium are put at the entrance of the lairs of wild beasts. Fish are blocked up in little bights and caught in a *sarape* or blanket or by a fork or even by hand. Men make moccasins, sewing them with eelskin or with sinew, and sometimes decorating them with many colored beads. Men cut out their shirts and sew them. They weave women's belts and, even, at San Felipe, *sarapes*. They weave baskets.

INITIATION OF BOYS

When a boy reaches the age when he is thought capable of keeping a secret from his younger brothers or sisters, they tell him that the dancers do not come from *wenima*, but that they have in them the spirits of the *shiwanna*. They tell the boys that some day[1] they will do them the favor of putting on them the masks of the *shiwanna*,[2] so that the pueblo peoples and all the world may have good fortune, that much rain may fall, that there may be abundant harvests. Girls and women are kept in unbroken ignorance.[3]

[1] When they are about sixteen, states the author elsewhere. ("*Les Indiens du Nouveau-Mexique*," p. 22. Société d'Anthropologie de Lyon, vol. XXI, 1902.)—ED.

[2] This rite figures in the initiation at Zuñi (M. C. Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," p. 104. (1901–2) (*Twenty-third Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*) There is a like rite in the initiation at Laguna, at Jemez, and among the Navajo (Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, p. 499. St. Michaels, Arizona, 1910).—ED.

[3] As at Jemez, but not today at Laguna or Zuñi. A Zuñi girl told me that the *koko* (*shiwanna*) or, as they say at Laguna, the *kokshiwanna*, stood behind the masked dancers and that when the dancers withdrew to the river (*akwe kaipa*) the *koko* changed into ducks and flew back to *koluwela*. Whether this explanation is reserved for the uninitiated I do not know, nor what conceptual connection there is, if any, with the reversed duck feather, called "looking back" always used in the feather-stick of the *koko*.—ED.

MARRIAGE

With rare exceptions does a person marry within his or her clan, the clan of his or her mother. The young man, having chosen a girl from another clan, says to her father,[1] "Father, I want to marry your daughter." The father answers, "If it is her wish, it is well. That is what we must learn." Then, if the father knows of any vice or lack in the suitor likely to imperil the happiness of his daughter, he says to her in the presence of her mother, "My daughter, so and so wants to marry you. If it is your wish, we can not prevent it, but if you have an unhappy life with him, know that we take no responsibility for what you are about to do. You will have to get justice for yourself, we will not listen to your complaints because you took the risk against our will, and without consolation from us you will have to suffer." If the young man appears desirable to the parents, in proposing him to their daughter they assume the responsibility of looking after her in case of misfortune or infidelity. If she agrees, her father transmits her answer to the young man and embraces him. He arrives the next day, early in the morning, bringing some present for his *fiancée*—corn, meal, coffee, whatever he can afford. He says to the person who lets him in, "Take."[2] They know what that means. The father says to him, "It is well, my son. Thus should you work to support your wife all the days of your life, likewise her parents should your means permit it, for you will be like our daughter in our affections; it will be as if we had given life to you both." The young man continues to bring presents every day until his marriage.

Soon the father calls together the members of both families and says, "So and so has asked for my daughter in marriage. She has said yes, she would marry him. What do you think of it?" With rare exceptions everybody says, "It is well, it is well." Then the young man and the girl are called together and the father puts his arms about them and says, "You are now my children." Those present embrace them, putting their hands behind their

[1] Cp. "The Sia," p. 21.

[2] The same formula and the same practice of present-bringing exists or existed among the Zuñi.—Ed.

shoulders and pressing them to their heart. Many tears are shed on this occasion, particularly on the part of the girl's family, for she is separating from them to live in the family of her *fiancé*. At Cochiti[1] where the church rules of marriage are definitely established,[2] the father now says to his children, "The right of living

[1] At San Felipe, the governor, Juan Ignacio Montaño, a man of forty and of unusually strong intelligence, worked zealously to destroy existing abuses. Many parents had let their sons and daughters live in immorality for years, and had refused to get them married, although their daughters already had large families, under the pretext that their children did not ask to be married. The governor called together his council and declared that he was going to force parents to consent by punishing them and, if that failed, he would ignore their refusal. Serious difficulties arose. One of the *principales* had two unmarried daughters who were mothers. He persisted in withholding his consent, and in violent words threatened every one present. The governor remained calm. He began to smoke, lowering his eyes with an expression of contempt rarely seen. Then he ordered the *alguazils* to take away the two girls and the two young men. The next day he presented them to me, saying, "Here they are. Do what you think your duty. For my part I do not want people to live any longer in my pueblo like pigs." As the young people asked for nothing better than to be married, their consent was registered, and the marriage was celebrated in the church immediately. [A more vivid or more naïve account of cultural clash were hard to find!]

At Santo Domingo, as soon as the young people are united by the girl's father, they are thought to have the right to live together. Santo Domingo custom, with rare exceptions, is to have the marriage celebrated only on the day of Santo Domingo. It is not uncommon, therefore, to see them coming up to be married with a child in their arms.

The Santo Domingans are very jealous about conserving customs unimpaired. (Santo Domingo (Tihua) is the conservative pueblo *par excellence*), and they would consider themselves improperly married if the sacristan were not permitted to pass behind the shoulders of the couple a stole to be knotted in front of them. As a rule, this ceremony is no longer performed by the church, but in Santo Domingo it is still permitted. [Villagran, an early Spanish poet, describes a native wedding at which the bridal garments were tied together. *Indians of the Southwest*, p. 104.]

There, as in the other pueblos, a church marriage is regarded as alone rendering the union indissoluble.

[2] [The author records a tradition that there were once no native rules for marriage or mannerliness. The tradition is faintly suggestive of the clear-cut Zuñi tradition of the slimy existence of their tailed and webbed forebears.]

After emerging from *shipapu* [See p. 215], and going to the South, it came to pass that the Cacique and his aids and also *masewa* and *oyoyawa* [see p. 199] realized that nobody took care of himself, nor combed himself, nor washed nor dressed himself well. *Masewa* and *oyoyawa* held a meeting with the Cacique and his aids to determine what to do. Then the Cacique and his aids decided that people had to marry, and that the Mother [*uretsete*, see p. 212] wished for many people, and that men and women should take good care of themselves in order to be pleasing to one another.

together is not fully yours until you are married by the Father. You, my son, go look for him to ask him what day he can marry you."

A few days before the religious ceremony, the *fiancé* has to add to the daily presents of corn, of meal, of meat, etc., a more valuable and indispensable present. It consists of a tanned deerskin out of which the bride will make herself leggings, or a pair of new moccasins, and, if his means permit, of a piece of that dark blue cloth woven by the Hopi of which the women make their dresses, as well as a blanket and a *manta*,[1] *i. e.*, one of those gaudy colored pieces of silk, trimmed with lace, which hang over the hips. If the bride is rich, she comes to the ceremony with her neck loaded with necklaces of shell beads and of turquoise, and little silver crosses, besides a necklace made of silver balls with a pendent of a double cross of silver. Her fingers are also loaded with rings of brass and of silver. The bridegroom wears a new shirt, a fine red *banda*,[2] new trousers and new moccasins dyed red or yellow,[3] and he is draped in an immense blanket from his neck to below his knees.[4] This blanket, sometimes one of great value, is often drawn in at the waist by a leathern belt ornamented with six or eight large round silver placques of Navajo workmanship. To the left side hangs the *pani*, a little bag which is sometimes covered with beads, red, blue and white, and which is the container for the corn-meal or pollen to be used in rites.

Thus they established marriage. Before this there had been no rule in marriage; the men separated from the women without any sanction.

Near the *potreros* there are little houses in which, so they say, men had to live with their wives. These little houses may still be seen today. In Mexico there are people who speak the Cochiti idiom, they say, and who remember this custom.

[1] So called, I infer, because the piece was formerly made (at Zuñi at least) of *manta* or "factory," cotton sacking. Of this, trousers were also made. They were short and split up the side. The term *manta* is also applied to the woolen or blanket dress of the women.—Ed.

[2] A head kerchief. The men wear their hair in a fourfold queue tied firmly with a belt of white cotton bordered weave of red and green wool. The front hair falls over forehead and ears.

[3] On feast days leggings of red or yellow buckskin with deep fringes may be worn up to the knee. Shirts of buckskin fringed on the shoulders and at the seams are also worn by some.

[4] At Laguna I was shown by an elderly man his marriage blanket or what was left of it.—Ed.

The ceremony over,[1] there is a great feast[2] to which all the pueblo is invited. On entering the gala room the father embraces his children, and everybody follows him, many of the women with tears in their eyes. Then the father gives his children advice, telling them that they have married to live in peace, that they owe each other help, fidelity, etc., and he gives them his blessing. Then the feast begins. The kinswomen of the bridegroom bring in large pottery bowls filled with the bones and gelatinous parts of beef, mutton or goat. This meat has been cooked for a long time on a slow fire in water colored with red *chili*.

This is the conventional wedding dish. The bowls are placed on the ground, and the bridal couple and all the people help themselves. There are piles of bread and of *matseni* or wafer bread.[3] Every one dips a piece of bread in the stew, catching up at the same time a little piece of meat. After you have eaten enough and drunk enough of the coffee, you rise and say, *ouehe*, "thanks," to which the hosts rejoin, "*humo*," or "may it fall," *i. e.*, rain. Then you withdraw, vacating your place for the others who are waiting. All the time the feast lasts, the hosts feel called upon to say to those who are coming in, "Enter, enter," or to those who are eating, "Eat, eat, eat." Men and women never stop saying, "*Chupe, humo*," or "*Chape chape*" (eat). It is the one sound one hears. If there are ten marriages on the same day, you eat ten times in succession. That is the rule. You may eat as little each time, to be sure, as you wish.

When the law of marriage [Catholic Church law] was put into effect at Cochiti, to offset the carelessness of parents, the governors would send the *alguazils* into houses where disorder was suspected. The *alguazils* would arrive on the scene without noise and with a lantern under their blankets. The guilty couple had to promise

[1] Recently at Laguna I went to a joint wedding of two couples, in each case the man and woman having lived together several months before the ceremony. The only notable particular was the presence of the two godparents of each couple. The eight persons stood in line before the altar.—ED.

[2] Cp. "The Sia," p. 22.

[3] A ball of dough is spread quickly over a smooth, hot stone. The blue, paper thin leaves are folded two, three, or four times over. Sometimes white meal is used, and milk instead of water.

to get married or the young man had to mix mud and carry it to the woman for her to plaster the exterior of the church. All the pueblo knew what that meant. Therefore the guilty couple almost always promised to get married rather than be mocked at by the entire pueblo. A couple that wants to go on living apart and yet in sin is punished with from sixteen to twenty-four blows of a big whip kept by the governor. When the *principales* have judged and sentenced, the governor says to the couple, "Kneel." They are completely nude. The *alguazil* who is to whip them is chosen for his strength, and he is warned that unless he whips with all his force the same punishment will be applied to him. So he strikes with all his force. At the fifth or sixth stroke blood flows. At the seventh stroke the patients lose consciousness.

A man who catches his wife in adultery may ask for justice against the guilty ones or may administer justice himself—the more common course. Recently a *chaiani* had to go to his house to get corn husks to make some cigarettes. He was not expected by his wife. To her and her accomplice he said, "I am occupied for the moment. Wait until I am finished. I need no one to right my wrong. My own arms are good enough." When he returned he punished them until he was tired. The flesh on the back of the guilty man was raw. For a long time he could not move, and he is still ill.[1]

SICKNESS AND CURE

When a person is sick, he and those around him see nothing in his sickness but a malevolent fate cast upon him by witches. In these circumstances an endless series of phantoms obsesses. An owl at night heard hooting, a coyote that approaches the house of the invalid, a bear or a wildcat from the mountains seen in the vicinity, a black dog grubbing near the cemetery,[2] crows

[1] There is a tradition at Zuñi that in similar circumstances a *shiwanni* acted differently. He caused an earthquake or slide which terrified all the people. That is the reason why nowadays men are prudent in connection with the wives of the *ashiwanni*.—Ed.

[2] At Laguna the grave is supposed to be watched until the fourth day after death lest witches in the shape of animals dig it up. After that time witches would make no attempt to rob the grave because the things in it would be spoiled. Grave robbery by witches is talked about also at Zuñi.—Ed.

flying over the town, any cry or stir whatsoever in the silence of the night, all are so many proofs that witches are engaged in tormenting the invalid, since witches are said to have the power to transform themselves at pleasure and to enter the bodies of animals. Soon stories spread. It will be said that some one has shot his

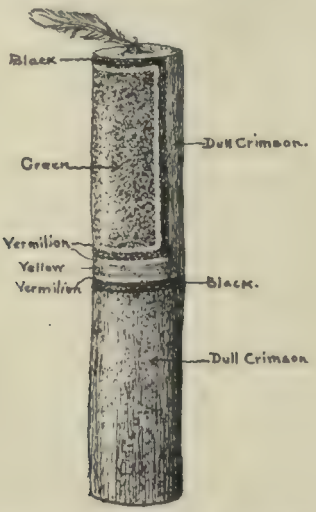


FIG. 15.—*Oshasha payatyama.* In Brooklyn Institute Museum. Height, 9¼ inches. For the drawing as well as for Figs. 16–18, 21, 26–29, and 31, I am indebted to C. Grant La Farge.

arrow or his gun at a certain witch transformed into a beast, but neither arrow nor bullet has hurt.[1] Then the family of the patient begins to advise, "Let the *chaiani* come, they will restore you." The proposal appears good, but execution is costly. The *chaiani* and especially their chief, the Cacique, have received their powers, no doubt, for the good of the Indians and in general of all the world, but they must be paid for their service. The Indian is not by nature free handed. If he decides on spending, it is in order to get back more.

The invalid will have placed behind his head a bow and arrow,

[1] In just such a case I heard of recently at Zuñi the witch did not escape. At the door of the sick man's room a wolf-witch was seen. The invalid's brother snatched up a stick and hit the "wolf." Next morning bloody tracks were found and the man who was thought to be the wolf-witch died within a few days.—ED.

the proper means with which to frighten witches. They are the weapons of *masewa*, and *masewa* fights against witches. The patient keeps on his person a piece of *katshrana*, an herb terrifying to witches.[1] On his breast he holds an image of the sun.[2] He either flatters the image or he threatens it, saying, "Cure me or I will give you nothing more to eat." If the image appears to have been insensible to the prayer, the invalid may throw the image to the ground, sometimes breaking it.

When the invalid sees he is unable of himself to recover,[3] he says to those around him, "I want the *chaiani* to come and cure me." They ask, "What *chaiani* do you want?" Ordinarily he will answer, *irshteani chaiani*." They are the *chaiani* in the group of the Cacique, the flint *chaiani*, reputed the most powerful of the *chaiani*. Sometimes the invalid will call for the *schkoio*

[1] See p. 154.

[2] See fig. 15. Hung to the house walls are images of the saints incredibly crude in execution. They are the work of the first Spaniards who came into New Mexico. If one enter a house with precaution and noiselessly, one finds, in the same line with the saints, various idols, and almost always an idol of the sun (fig. 15; pl. VI, fig. 5).

[3] The Indians must be very ill before deciding to go to bed. Privations of all sorts and the habit of enduring great fatigue have made them but little tender toward themselves. Nevertheless, when they are overcome by fever, by such a horrible fever as that which two years ago (1896) decimated the pueblos of Cochiti, Santo Domingo, Jemez, Sia, and Santa Ana, when persons are incapable of taking any nourishment or sitting upright, they resign themselves to stretching out on a mattress or, more often, on the bare ground, wrapped in a blanket. Seldom does this measure bring relief, for it is rare for the room of an Indian to be well aired. Ventilation is had only through a wretched door in one of the ground floor rooms. In the adjoining rooms it is almost nil. When the only entrance is a hole formed in the ceiling, by which two persons cannot descend at once, when ten, fifteen or even twenty persons are crowded about the invalid in this sort of a cave, and an already foul air is tainted by an insupportable odor of meat, grease and sweat, then the first idea of the visitor is that he is going in to one condemned to death. Many times have I said to the nurses: "Open this window; do not crowd about the invalid, or rather, take him into a well-aired room. If you don't do this, he will die." Most often I received no reply. At other times the invalid, turning his head toward me, would sadly say: "Father, if God remembers me, I shall go away to the other world; but if nobody touches me, in a few days I shall be well and sound and able to eat and work as before," or again: "If God wishes, I shall recover. If the stroke of destiny cuts our road we cannot resist."

What do these words signify? They are either the revelation of a profound fatalism or else they conceal in a hardened pagan the hope of recovering health by the help of the *chaiani*. [If literally quoted by the author, they may also express the common Pueblo Indian point of view that the dead (and supernaturals?) draw the living to themselves.]

(giant) *chaiani*, or for the *shikarne* (*shikame*) *chaiani*, doctors belonging to the society of the *quirana*. (All the *quirana* are not *chaiani*.)

The *chaiani* summoned[1] becomes the godfather (*parrain*), as it were, of the patient—*kanarshtia* [his father]. In inviting *kanarshtia* the patient's relations will give the *chaiani* some shell or some corn meal or corn pollen (*hatawe*) wrapped in corn husk, and they address to him this prayer: "We come to summon you, father (or mother) because the sick man believes that you and your Mother (the *iareko*)[2] as well as the doctors, your colleagues, can restore to him his former health. So we others, relatives and friends of the invalid, hope that you and your Mother will give him the good health we wish him and a long life. Tomorrow with the first rays of our father Sun will be the first day that we and the invalid will address this supplication to you. Four days thereafter we wish you to cure the invalid. So we hope that all your colleagues will agree to the request we make to our Mother. We hope that we shall be satisfied. We wish you the good fortune to have our Mother work well the night you will go to treat the invalid who is called (for example) Mitch *yaka hanutsh* [Corn Clan]."

Then the *chaiani* whom *kanarshtia* has selected as colleagues wait four days to commence the treatment of the invalid. Every night they meet together. During this time, they say, the witches likewise prepare for the fray. They conjure in their caves, in them they collect broken bones, dwarf palms with sharp points, cactus and thistles, all of use to them in producing sharp pains in the head and in the stomach and belly. They also prepare rattlesnakes, little snakes, stones, pieces of broken glass, ashes and blood. It is by sending these things by magic into the body of the invalid, say the *chaiani*, the witches take his life.

The *chaiani* themselves prepare. They give the patient the herb called *katshrana*.[3] With it in the house,[4] the witches become powerless.

[1] The Cacique as well as any other *chaiani* may be summoned. [2] See p. 155.

[3] This herb is used also for headache. It is either burned and the smoke inhaled or it is ground and eaten. [Possibly the use of this herb is Spanish. In the Cape Verde islands an herb is used to fumigate the house against witches.]

[4] *Chaiani* likewise carry this herb in their pockets.

On the fourth night, about midnight, the patient is taken out in a blanket by the *chaiani*. He is taken to a house without windows opening outside. Such a house at Cochiti is of two stories. You reach the first story (see fig. 16) of an adjacent house (*I*) by a ladder (*A*) and cross the roof to descend by another ladder through a trap door (*B*). You go through a door (*C*) or window in the wall into house *II*. The patient (*D*) is placed on a blanket near the wall to the right of the rear of the house where the doctors (*E*, *E'*) sit. Back of the patient or at his sides sit his relatives or friends (*F*). The *chaiani* in charge, *kanarshtia* (*E'*), and the other *chaiani* have in front of them their *iareko* (*G*), the image of their Mother (*yaya*).[1]

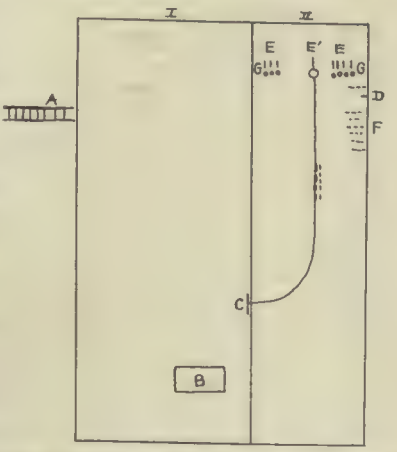


FIG. 16.—Diagraan for Curing ceremonial. By Father Noël Dumarest.

The *iareko* is made of an ear of corn, of white or blue corn, wrapped in white cotton cloth or cotton thread or formerly in thongs of deerskin. The ear must be a *kotona*, an ear in which not a grain is lacking and at the top of which rises a head of glumes.[2] The tip is wrapped with white eagle-down over which are parrot feathers.[3] Under them is fastened a collar of green turquoises, of bits of shell, of flint arrowpoints, bits of silver, etc. The cotton or deerskin represent clothing; the eagle-down, hair; the parrot feathers, a crown. The arrowpoints indicate that *masewa*, the war captain, protects.

[1] The author suggests other altar settings, but he fails to specify them. The line to *C* is undoubtedly the line of meal (*iani*, road) indicating a roadway characteristic of the altars. In another diagram the author places a lion fetish at the end of the *iani* in front of the *iareko*. The patient is carried in over the *iani*.—ED.

[2] Whenever a man finds an ear of this sort in his field he places it devoutly in the bowl where [sacred ?] meal is kept. A *kotona* is supposed to have supernatural power. The grains of a *kotona* are sown [*i. e.*, not eaten].

[3] Likewise turkey feathers, the author elsewhere states.

The *chaiani* begin to sing a song preparatory for the combat with the witches. The song of the *irshteani chaiani* is as follows:

keme	hawe	tonae	kikie	kanileu	kiano	kaeno
Who	comes	here	from the north	comes	in coming	this one
wehe	kanakiaiani	kanileu	kiano	katiame		kanirshtie
who	witch	comes	in coming	turning the back		coming
tsatse	niuwetawa	tiumako	kuikiume	honawa	haete	kuekame
not	will know me	?	easily	chaiani	?	when
keurshka[1]	kiano	tsa	hawe	hoe(?)	tawa	notako
will drink	in coming	not	that one	is (?)	good	will be.

"Who is this one who comes from the north? Who is he? It is the witch who comes turning his back so one cannot recognize him. You cannot recognize him. But these two *chaiani* when they have drunk the medicine,[2] when will they not recognize him?"

The doctors proceed to take out the sorceries from the body of the patient by means of the eagle's feathers they hold in each hand. With them they brush the patient, and striking the feather in the left hand with the feather in the right hand[3] they throw the evil to the north, to the west, to the south, to the east, above and below.

Kanarshtia takes in his hand a kind of a round, white, transparent stone. He waves it in circles above his head, defying the witches. People believe that he sees in this stone, as in a mirror, where the witches are and the things they have made use of to injure the patient.[4] They believe that this stone has the power to draw the witches against their will into the neighborhood. In fact, loud knocks soon resound at the door and a shrill and disgreeable voice is heard saying: "*Chaiani*, you are powerless. You can do nothing against me. I am a man. I have come to the place where you are and I will not depart. Your Mothers (*yaya, i. e., iareko*) are also powerless."

[1] Referring to the rite of sucking the medicine water from the eagle feather dipped in the medicine bowl.

[2] During the curing ceremony the *chaiani* immerse an eagle feather in the medicine water and put it into their mouth.

[3] It is no doubt the kind of cutting motion I have seen at Laguna. It is called *kukats*.—ED.

[4] I heard of a stone similarly used in connection with a curing ceremonial conducted in the house of the patient by a member of the *halokwe* society of Zuñi.—ED.

The *chaiani* go out to the combat after much hesitation. It is *kanarshtia* who should bring back the heart of the patient the witches stole. You hear cries outside. You can see the *chaiani* even starting to run after some invisible being and hitting at him with sticks. You can see them going into the river where the witches are supposed to hide themselves.[1]

The combat may last a long time. It is a bodily combat. The witches sometimes appear as rag dolls, sometimes as giants with forearms and hands black as charcoal. One of these giant hands may seize all of the *chaiani*, they say, tie them together by their queues and hurl them to a distance. The giant will cover their heads with mud or ashes. Again binding the *chaiani* and holding them by their queues, the giant may blow into their face an insupportable odor. The *chaiani* always fight with their head turned away, and the giants say to them, "If you are a man, turn full face." The giants try to make the *chaiani* breathe in their breath.[2] After the fight,[3] when the *chaiani* near the church, the doors will open of themselves. Should the *chaiani* delay returning, the captains and *fiscales* charged with protecting them would go to the church.[4] There the *chaiani* are sometimes found as if dead. Returning from the fight, the *chaiani* appear out of breath, their hair in disorder, their head covered with mud and ashes.

The *chaiani* who did not go out with the others continue to sing. Finally you hear cries and knocks on the door. It is *kanarsh-*

[1] The same belief is found at Laguna and at Zuñi.—Ed.

[2] Just as for good, the breath of benevolent supernaturals is everywhere asked for or said to be breathed in.—Ed.

[3] Some of the *chaiani* who have gone out carry on the deception by acting as witches. They put corn husks on either side of their head and corn husk rings around their eyes. They change their voice and they hold burning embers between their teeth. In order to look large, they stuff themselves out with rags or straw. One of these disguises was found lately, hidden in a pile of hay, the day before a curing ceremonial. On another occasion, the *chaiani* disguised as a witch forgot to remove from his neck the pendant lion paw worn only by *chaiani*.

[4] Before leaving, the war captains (*masewa* and his *teniente*) and the fiscals are given images of lion, bear, etc., to receive the spirit and strength of these animals. Subsequently these images are returned to the Cacique. [We may infer that the war captain and fiscals have been present at the ceremonial. The war captains attend curing ceremonials at Laguna and Zuñi.]

tia and his two companions who have returned victorious over the witches. *Kanarshtia* holds a piece of cactus in his hand. In the middle of it is a little doll about ten inches long and made of some sort of cloth. It represents the patient, for when the witches want to harm anyone they make an image of him and practise on the image the torments they desire their victim to experience.[1]

Kanarshtia has in front of him two pottery bowls filled with the medicine-water that is left after the *chaiani* have asperged the *yaya*. *Kanarshtia* tears off a piece of the cloth the doll is made of, burns it in a candle, and in the smoke it makes envelopes the patient. He repeats this operation and goes on repeating it, throwing the ashes into one of the bowls, until a grain of white corn is discovered. It is the heart of the patient which was stolen by the witches. *Kanarshtia* looks at it closely and says, "*Rawatsu*, it is still good" or, "it is white," meaning that the witches have not yet succeeded in spoiling it altogether. Together the *chaiani* rejoin, "*rawa*, *rawa*, *rawa*, good, good, good," and they express joy. *Kanarshtia* approaches the patient, rubs him, approaches his lips to the affected part of his body, and draws a long breath.[2] Suddenly *kanarshtia* falls down, sometimes as if dead. His two *chaiani* companions raise him up, having first drawn on to their left forearm a bear's paw. They rub *kanarshtia* gradually back to life, they put him on his feet, and support him during the efforts he makes to vomit. Then with great pain, they say, *kanarshtia* vomits stones, pieces of cactus, broken bones, thistles, ants, little snakes and even rattlesnakes.[3] Of these things[4] a little pile (*pakana*) is made to be thrown into the river by the *chaiani*.

[1] Cp. p. 165.

[2] From this and what follows I infer that, as at Laguna and at Zuñi, the doctor is sucking out the injurious thing in the body of the patient.—ED.

[3] To catch the snakes, the *chaiani*, a few days before the cure, go out to hunt with their hands rubbed with grease and tobacco. Then to get the snakes into their stomachs they do as follows: The snakes are well fed so that they will do no hurt. Then in a room where there are several snakes, the *chaiani* lies down with his lips coated with corn pollen and his mouth full of it. This preparation suffices to make the snakes, which like warmth, go into his stomach. There they turn themselves around so as to have their head near the mouth of the *chaiani*. The *chaiani* puts his fingers in his mouth to make himself vomit.

[4] [In another account the author states that] a *chaiani* jumps to attack the snake with the bear's paw. He puts it on the snake which then ceases to move.

It remains only for *kanarshtia* to give the patient his heart. In medicine-water he gives the patient the grain of corn (*winershka*) either broken up or whole. In conclusion the *chaiani* sing among others[1] this song:

Hani ya hani hani ya hani ya hani	kosha	noia	kosha	noia	tiate	
	this	night	this	night	here	
kitishiuko	pihishini	iwa(?)	yoteshia	kawamarashte		
side of the north	the dark reds	the old	they are already	about to place themselves		
shiumo	aershkeuni	kowershtowetiakia	hapa wehe tsatse taenonise			
dead	bones	taking	those ones not have shame			
hiwayuna	tsikiayuma	nieiashatetiakia				
now	we are going	to be telling.				

"This night here at the north outside of this house the witches, [the dark reds[2]] the old ones were engaged in work. They were making arrows of the bones of the dead. They are without shame. Now although the sun is high (*i. e.*, in public) we will say what they were doing."

This song lasts for a long time and has many repetitions, for example for *kitishiuko*, the side of the north, will be substituted in turn, *ponishuki*, the side of the west, *konishuko*, the side of the south, *hamishuko*, the side of the east.[3]

Now *kanarshtia* takes his *iareko* in his hand and, turning to the people, says:

"Here take, our fathers and officers, *masewa*, *kotshanikiani* [?] (*kanarshtia* holds the *iareko* out to them[4]), take *hiani* in order to have good health from the Mother. We are content; since yesterday our Mother has been seated among us thanks to the aid of our father *masewa*. We are content. Content too is —— (the name of

[1] The song of the *shikarne chaiani* during the rite of vomiting the *pakana* is: yayaya yayaya mihanna mi yaya hama mi tuna aikiti mokaira honawa haete kanile kiaiano yayaya hami.

When to-day comes from the north the lion comes to *avajo* (?) saying I am *chaiani*.

[In another note the author states that curing *chaiani* sing,] "You the lion, the bear, the eagle, the badger, cure him."

[2] When witches are to engage in working evil they paint their hands and legs black mixed with red.

[3] Note the circuit observed.—Ed.

[4] He moves it, I surmize, four times. This circular motion of the sacrosanct object to be breathed from is a characteristic rite at Laguna and at Zuñi.—Ed.

the person) who has sought his *hiani*. Now our Mother has already completed her task. Already they (the *yaya* and officers) have completed their task. If the sick man place his faith or heart in *masewa* it may be that we can return it or restore to him his life and health as he had it before. Now, our *mayores* will go and rest. (To *masewa*) You who represent *masewa* go and rest. And we

FIG. 17.—Stone fetish animals. In Brooklyn Institute Museum. From $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches to $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long.

too will go and rest. Take the breath (he gives them the breath) of our Mother, life and health. Go and rest.

"And also to those who did not come to assist at the office of our Mother, from here our Mother gives her breath to them all, and with it they shall live in good health. It is true that my breath is without power, but the Mothers[1] give me theirs and I send it to you. Here our Mother has grasped us in her heart." (He moves the *iareko* from his heart towards the people.)

Then *masewa* with his staff makes the same benediction.

The ceremony concluded, the patient leaves with the *chaiani*

[1] *Uretsete* and her sister (See p. 212) or sisters. In Laguna myth she has three sisters.—ED.

a little bow, a lion or bear paw and an image of mountain lion or bear (fig. 17), if he have them, that the animal *chaiani* may intercede with the powers to keep the witches from returning.

There is a feast for which the kinswomen [of the invalid] have been preparing since sunrise.[1] After eating, the officers and the *chaiani* take away with them what is left, *kanarshtia* getting a double portion.

WITCHES (*Kanakiaia*)

Kanakiaia is supposed to be the name of a man conceived by a woman who wished to devote herself to injuring mortals or to doing throughout the four worlds the greatest possible harm. While still in the womb, *kanakiaia* asked to enter *shipapu* to be received by *uretsete*, and, like all children that are born, to be given by her an order to behold daylight. Thereby he hoped to mingle with the people to their harm. But *uretsete*, seeing that his right arm was burned and that in his left hand he held glowing coals without getting burned, knew from these signs that he was bad (born to evil and of infernal origin), and said to him, "I can not allow you to be born and to mingle with my people. I do not recognize you as one of them, and yet none of them is unknown to me. I do not know where you were conceived." "Very near the place where you were born." "No matter, I do not know you. Return to that place."[2] *Kanakiaia* went out and began to listen to the directions *uretsete* gave the children about to be born into the world. He followed them and was born into the pueblo they were born into.[3] Subsequently he was married and had children who were all witches like himself.[4]

[1] Women sing while they grind. The words of their song are about as follows: "Over there in the East they are making *metates* of turquoise." [At Laguna each clan has its own grinding songs.]

[2] This place was the fourth world, unvisited and uncontrolled by the Mother or the *kopershtaia*. People believe that there are four worlds—the highest which the *shiwanna* live in, hiding behind the clouds, at least when rain falls; the second which we live in; the third which the Mother and the *kopershtaia* live in, under the waters of *shipapu* and in communication with *wenima* where the *shiwanna* sojourn; and the fourth, a kind of hell.

[3] To the tradition about *kanakiaia* as a personage the Laguna tradition about *bacheani* may correspond. (See "Ceremonialism at Laguna.") In a tale recorded by Dr. Boas *bacheani* is the son of *shkuyu*, giantess.—Ed.

[4] That witchcraft runs in families is a common Pueblo Indian point of view.—Ed.

For witches there is no mercy in the next world.[1] As their father was born without the permission of *uretsete*, *i. e.*, he did not obey her order to leave *shipapu*, so at death, when his children would enter *shipapu*, they would not be recognized.

To understand the fear the Indians have of witches and their prudence in not taking risks, one must realize that they believe witches to be a race apart, men like themselves, but endowed with evil power, power to kill when insulted. When *uretsete* advised people not to make use of evil words, she wanted them to keep from provoking the witches nobody recognizes, witches who are able to conceal their character because they do not always act up to it. Since a witch differs from others only in his bad heart, it is difficult to recognize him. Why are the Pueblo Indians so pacific?[2] Why do they not try even to defend themselves in quarrels? Because from their youth their elders have taught them that nobody can know the hearts of men. There are witches everywhere, and woe to him who has trouble with them because one can manage to overcome the consequences of witch-craft only with great difficulty, if at all. There are hearts filled with thorns and other bad things, they say, and men cannot distinguish them.

Witches are the cause not only of sickness, but of all evils. If there is a great drought after the dance of *shiwanna*, for example, witches are at the bottom of it.[3]

Witches there will always be in the world; and incessant conflicts between witches and *chaiani*. When *kanakaia* came into the

[1] See p. 172.

[2] Indeed much of Pueblo Indian mannerliness is motivated by fear of witches. At Zuñi if you ask for any article, it is straightway given to you—you might be a witch, and, were you refused, you might work injury. "The reason we always ask visitors to eat," I have been told, "is because a witch might enter and be angry if not asked." In any gathering of mere acquaintances, it is felt there may be a witch and the reiteration of "eat, eat" at the wedding feasts mentioned by the author is somewhat of a precaution, I surmise, against slighting some witch. At Laguna and probably elsewhere, reckless talking, saying about anyone anything you want to say, is one sign that you are a witch.—ED.

[3] At Zuñi, likewise, witches may cause a drought. And black magic may cause high winds. If a man has a grudge against a dancer—perhaps the man has taken his wife from him—he has only to sprinkle red shell at large to cause a wind storm while the dance is on.—ED.

world he organized a society like that of the *chaiani* and into it initiated a large number. They say that many join the witch society every year. The old members allure young people to their caves and say to them, "We want to do you a favor. We can communicate to you our powers. We can make you famous hunters or successful capturers of hearts, we can make you rich. Choose the gift you like. We make but one condition; you must in return sacrifice that which is dearest in the world to you. If it is your father, your mother, one of your sisters, renounce ever seeing them again."[1] Once a member of the witch society, always a member.

The very word *kanakiaia* is the terror of women and children and of the majority of men. If you ask an Indian confidentially (in case you have his confidence, a long and difficult achievement), if you ask, "Well, have you seen witches?" he may answer, "Yes, I have seen them." "What are they like?" "As they appear only at night, it is difficult to see them; but they have large round eyes, likewise a round mouth, their hands are black because they have been burned by the fire of hell. Sometimes they have black and white lines on the body, and cornhusks each side of the body; sometimes they are very big, sometimes little, and their voice seems to be that of a child." "What language do they speak?" "I have heard them speak in three languages, in Mexican, in *Tewa*, and in the language of Tesuque." "Have you seen them very close?" "Yes. Once they came into the house of Reyes who was sick. They came in unafraid, the *chaiani* were absent. The Cacique was alone, he was singing as he waited for the *chaiani*. Three witches came in, they fastened his hands and feet with a cord of yucca, they took off his (?) put it around his neck and threw him outdoors. Soon the *chaiani* came in. The witches fled, saying, "I am a man. I am not afraid of you," and adding a lot of obscene words. The *chaiani* unloosed the Cacique. He threw himself on the witches, striking at them with a bear's claw. They fled. One of the witches appeared at the window of the room where they were curing the patient. A *chaiani* sent an arrow into his shoulder. He lost a

[1] There is the same belief of family sacrifice at Zuñi, likewise belief in a witch society.—Ed.

great deal of blood, he cried out, and he threw the same arrow back into the room through the window."

Once José and his wife were about to go to sleep. The woman went out doors. She looked towards the corral, she saw a man, a *koshare*.[1] She was frightened and hurried in. She said, "See who goes down there, a *koshare*." José went out. There was a moon. The *koshare* came close to the corral in the shadow. He was hiding himself. He went into an old house. Juan Charez was dying. The *koshare* crouched down at his window. José wondered how he would catch the *koshare*. He went up on the roof like a cat and he came up to the *koshare* who was a long time at the window. . . .

In 1896 a terrible epidemic ravaged the pueblos of the Rio Grande and the West. At Cochiti they attributed the epidemic to witchcraft. Spies watched night and day about the cemetery and the churches. They said they saw two dogs, one black and one white, wandering in the outskirts of the pueblo, and a coyote scratching at the door of the church. Arrows and guns were fired, they say, at these animals without causing the slightest wound. Shortly after midnight the *nahia*[2] of Cochiti was talking with visitors, when his son-in-law, going on the roof to go to the *tapeste* (a kind of open barn) and throw hay to the horses, saw prowling about the window a man or rather a monster, his body painted white, hands black, black rags on his shoulders and hanging from his belt, eyes and mouth surrounded by corn husks twisted and rolled in a circle, over each ear a bunch of corn husks (pl. VII, fig. 1).[3] It was a witch. The son-in-law at once pursued the witch. He caught him with difficulty after leaping over the ditch at the foot of the hill on which Cochiti is built. He said to him, "What are you doing at this hour in the pueblo in this costume?" "My business concerns

[1] The sacred clown of the Keresans. The description of the appearance of a witch in the preceding paragraph would do more or less for the *koshare* make-up as I have seen it represented or burlesqued at Zuñi. The *ne'wekwe*, the homologue at Zuñi of the *koshare*, are said to be strong in black magic.—ED.

[2] See page 198.

[3] In Zuñi myth the first corn is brought by witches. The mask which the *koshare* of Laguna wear to initiate has corn husk "earrings." The mask is made of buffalo hide, a fact pointing perhaps to northern or Plains provenience.—ED.

nobody." "If what you do is bad, you are the cause of the epidemic. Was it not enough to have bewitched your brother and your family?" Without reply the *koshare* struck the son-in-law of the *nahia* on the head with a stick, the man fell fainting, bathed in his blood. The next day they found him in his house, hardly recognizable, and he died shortly after. Juan Antonio, the *koshare*, followed closely upon him, and died vomiting floods of blood. They say that before his death he said, "I am the assassin and I die of the harm I have done." However that may be, the death of these two is a certainty, for I buried them on the same day. The next day the Cacique made a search of the house of Juan Antonio and found in a pot a stone image with owl eyes, feathers of owl and crow, and pieces of cactus. The Cacique became convinced that Juan had been a witch. At any rate, of Juan's numerous family only two children survive.

A century ago there lived at Cochiti a Franciscan priest said to have been very rich. He had two boys to care for his herds, one Indian, the other Mexican. One day he punished them for some mischief. After some time the Indian boy made a coarse image of the priest with earth and his urine, saying to the Mexican, "You will see how sick the priest will be when we come in this evening." He then stuck cactus needles into the ears and stomach of the image. On returning from the fields, the Mexican was greatly surprised to see the missionary in agony. The little Indian drew the thorns out of the image, which he kept hidden in his *sarape*, and relief followed. The Mexican thought he should disclose the thing to his master, so the next day he said to his companion, "Go ahead of me and I will overtake you; I must go to the field and look for something I forgot." He took the image, which was hidden in a cave, and gave it to the priest. The priest called the Indian, showed him the image, and said: "Show me what you did to make me sick." This story is widespread at Cochiti.[1]

[1] There are like beliefs at Laguna. Anyone who has a grievance against you because you have denied him something may take your spittle or hair and roll it up in rags and then stick cactus thorns into the roll, thereby producing pains in your body, *e.g.*, tuberculosis.—Ed.

OMENS

When one hears a little chicken cry in the water, one's child is going to be very sick or to die.

When the left eyelid trembles, all the family of the person affected will be sick or die.[1]

When one goes out and a crow[2] flies, it is bad luck.

When you dream of a river, that you are attacked, or that you are stepping upon dung, you will die.

When you dream of old clothes, of *shiwanna*, of branches of the royal pine,[3] you will be rich or live long.

When a gun or bow or staff breaks, sickness or misfortune will occur.

DEATH

Over the heart of the corpse laid out in a corner of the room is put a *maneador*, and alongside an ear of corn called *iaka* which means the same thing as *kotona*. It is the heart of the deceased, people say, or rather his spirit, "*isats*." The *maneador* is the protector of the heart of the deceased.[4]

During the night, if the deceased has died after sunset (dying before sunset, he is buried at once), the body is waked *i. e.*, surrounded with candles and visited by relatives and friends who take from a little bowl near the dead a pinch of cornmeal and throw it in the mouth of the dead that he may eat it during his journey of four days to *shipapu*.

After the grave is dug the body is carried on a ladder to the cemetery. At Cochiti[5] there is no difference between Indian burials

[1] To dream of loosing a tooth or falling off a house ladder means misfortune (Laguna). If you dream of the death of a relative you should heat the poker and burn his hair at the nape of the neck.—ED.

[2] Crow feathers at Laguna and Zuñi are associated with witchcraft.—ED.

[3] Once at Laguna, when I was laid up, I was given a spruce twig by a *cheani* and told to preserve it among my clothes, it would bring me health and fortune. At Laguna twigs are taken by onlookers from the spruce armbands and belts of the *k'atsina* to make into a brew for headache. At Zuñi I have seen persons approach the dancers, sprinkle them with meal, and receive a spruce twig. Explanation of the little rite has always been withheld.—ED.

[4] See page 142.

[5] At Santo Domingo the body is laid out on a ladder and wrapped head and feet in a blanket. A cross is carried at the head of the procession. On either side two

FIG. 1.—Representation of a witch. Height, 22½ inches. How this image is used is not stated. Illustration by Father Michael Dumarest.

FIG. 2.—Mask *avuelo* (grandfather), a farcial impersonation. Illustration by Father Michael Dumarest.

and Mexican burials except that the former are almost always accomplished without the assistance of a priest and without a coffin.

Four days after the death, three, four, or five *chaiani* are invited to despatch the deceased to *shipapu*. A big feast is prepared for which a cow or a sheep is slaughtered. Part of the food is deposited at the door through which the deceased is to be despatched. The deceased is supposed to stay in the house he lived in for four days and during these four days food—wafer bread, *tortillas*, beans, peas, meat, etc.—is placed before the ear of corn which is his representative.

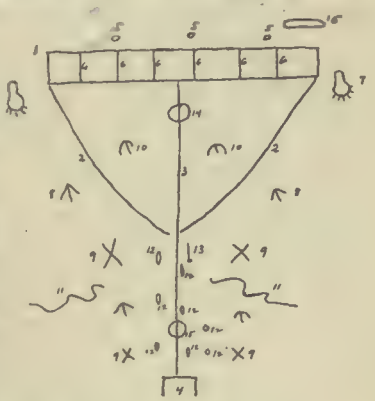


FIG. 18.—Diagram of Altar for the Dead. By Father Noël Dumarest. 1. Frame made of meal. 2. Triangle of meal. 3. Line of meal to 4. Door. 5. *Chaiani*. 6. *Iareko*. 7. Bear paw. 8. Turkey track. 9. Chaparal-cock track. 10. Eagle claws. 11. Rattlesnake track. 12. Representation of deceased advancing towards the door to be despatched to *shipapu*. 13. Lion [image?]. 14 and 15 not specified. 16 not specified, but probably the ear of corn representing the deceased.

The *chaiani* enter and place in front of themselves their *iareko*.

This altar symbolism means that during the great journey from the upper to the middle world the deceased is put by the *chaiani* under the protection of the *iareko*, of the lion and bear, of the eagle, of the serpent, of the turkey and chaparral-cock.

The *chaiani* sing, dipping their eagle feathers into the medicine bowl to sprinkle the *iareko* and to suck the fluid from the feathers. This rite is repeated several times.

candles are carried. The relatives follow. On the chest of the corpse is placed the cross usually carried by one of the assistants of the sacristan. It is ornamented with some of the branches distributed from the church on the anniversary of the day the Saviour entered Jerusalem. Under the left arm of the corpse is placed some wafer bread and other food for the journey the deceased has to make to reach the Mother. Arrived at the grave, the sacristan recites all the prayers he knows in Spanish, and throws on the head of the corpse half a handful of corn meal, the last repast of the deceased. Relatives also offer the deceased food and water, breaking the bowls at the grave. There are still other ceremonies, but they seem to be the fruit of the inventive genius of the present sacristan of Santo Domingo rather than dictated by tradition.

The *chaiani* who is nearest to the representative ear of corn rises and transfers the ear together with the *maneador* and a feather-stick (*hachamuni*)[1] passing from *B* to *C*,[2] making before the objects circles in front of himself as if propelling something out from within. Another *chaiani* gives to the father and mother of the deceased an *iareko* to hold in their hands until the return of the *chaiani* who, near the door, gives to another *chaiani*, he in turn passing them on to the father of the deceased, the ear of corn, the *maneador* and the *hachamuni*, and who then carries off in a sheep skin the different victuals offered to the deceased to bury them at a distance. At the same time he carries a pair of miniature moccasins (fig. 19).[3] The richer sort include, if the deceased is a woman, a dress, buckskin leggings, belts, jewelry, etc. For a man, are included bits[4] of all his dance outfit, *i. e.*, of the skunk skin with which he covers his feet, of the foxskin hanging from his back, of the cotton belt or of some of its fringe, of the armbands, etc.[5] The richer or more liberal include the complete costume. The grains of corn in the representative ear are preserved for planting.[6] The *maneador* is restored to customary use.

FIG. 19.—Miniature moccasins in Brooklyn Institute Museum. Length, 3½ inches.

The place where these offerings are made is about 500 yards north of Cochiti in a little ravine hidden behind a hill. Here there is a monument called the gate of *shipapu*.[7] It is a kind of

[1] The *hachamuni* represents the Sun to whom the deceased was consecrated at birth.

[2] Unfortunately the author failed to put down these letters on his diagram, perhaps they were intended to mark the circles at 14 and 15.—ED.

[3] Likewise, I infer from the collection in the Brooklyn Institute Museum, miniature shirt and trousers (fig. 20).—ED.

[4] At Laguna bits of all the goods of the deceased, even enamel from a bed or scrapings from a trunk, are collected and burned in the house fire. The deceased is told that the goods as a whole will follow these bits. He is begged not to return for property or for anyone in the family.—ED.

[5] See p. 180, pl. v.

[6] As are the grains in the Zuñi *mi'li*. The *mi'li* or feather-girt completely kernelled ear of corn possessed by every member of the curing part of a fraternity is also the representative, *i. e.*, life token of its owner.—ED.

[7] Cp. E. C. Parsons, "Notes on Acoma and Laguna," *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. XX (1918), p. 177.

round enclosure, a yard in diameter, made of large stones. In the middle are two large upright stones. Around them are buried *hachamuni*. Near the two stones are also round bowls the size of the hand. The shape of these funerary bowls is unusual. The rim is terraced in four or five steps and in the tops of the terraces are holes whereby *hachamuni* may be attached. The decorations represent clouds, lightning, rain, and tracks of the chaparral-cock. In the center, inside, is painted a cross, the sides of the arm being disparate, or a three-fold lightning figure (fig. 21). These bowls contain corn pollen for the dead or other food. Similarly, west of Cochiti, in the little flat opposite the church, one finds many bowls and pieces of dance costume, etc. Offerings to the dead are also hidden away in little caves in the ridge of (?). On top of this hill may be found structures like that called the gate of *shipapu*. Beads and turquoise are strewn in the enclosures, and in the rocky crevices in the neighborhood are *hachamuni* and pieces of dance costume.[1]

FIG. 20.—Miniature trousers. In Brooklyn Institute Museum. Length, 8¼ inches.

The *chaiani* who have stayed behind sing as follows:

haia ha wina ohaha ie, haia ha wina haia ha wina

kikiapuloni shipapunima nasashteehio
at the north at the entrance of *shipapu* let us go

pasa tiotsaio pasa tshotsaio
you will take care of him I will take care

haia ha wina ohaha ie haia ha wina haia ha wina

[1] At Jemez in following an *arroyo* one finds, about 200 yards to the left of the church in the side of a ridge, a mass of things—Navajo baskets, broken bowls, beads, arrows, eagle feathers, a quantity of *hachamuni*, etc. This is the place where the *chaiani* hide the things for the dead. At San Felipe, at the foot of the ruins of the old church, in the less accessible places, there is also a quantity of such things.

ishr humore	waio	tihua[1]	nasashteehio	pasa tiotsaio
name yourself	.	man	let us go	you will take care of him

pasa tshotsaio haia ha wina haia ha wina haia ha wina
I will take care

"Let us go down there to the north, to the entrance of *shipapu*. Take care of him for me on the journey (said to the Mothers)." "I will take care of him." "Come, man called Waio, come. You will take care of him on the journey." "I will take care of him."

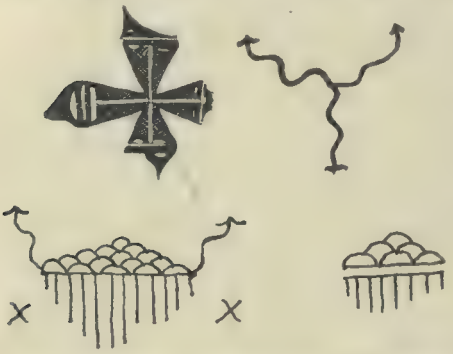


FIG. 21.—Designs on funerary bowl. By Father Noël Dumarest.

On the return of the *chaiani* from burying the food and the costume or its symbols, he buries the *hachamuni* in the room once occupied by the deceased. It will be a protection, people think, against the deceased for, say they, the dead return to the house if they are neglected, *i. e.*, if food is not given to them. They return and at night they knock on the door. Sometimes besides burying a single feather-stick, people will ask the *chaiani* for four more feather-sticks to bury in the cardinal directions. Often, too, during entire nights after the death people will throw out in the town or in the church pieces of meat for the deceased.

After this ceremony people forget the deceased or, rather, remember him only at rare intervals, for example, on the day of the dead, the second of November.

ALL SOULS' DAY

At this time every family offers to their dead and deposits in the church wheat, corn, beans, peas, watermelons, *tortillas*, wafer bread, *panocha*,[2] boiled meat, etc. There is sometimes in a church as many as twenty wagon loads of these provisions. The

[1] Honorific term.

[2] Sweet made of the roots of germinating wheat.

provisions are supposed to be given to the priest, but in larger part they are stolen by the very persons who offered them.

During the night of the dead, masses of candles are placed in the church and in houses. It is believed that persons remiss in carrying out this practice will have the tips of their fingers burned by the dead. Ears of corn on the stalk are also deposited in the church. They are the canes the dead use to go to *shipapu*.

Food is offered to the dead on the second of November because at this time at night, it is believed, the dead are permitted to return and visit their pueblo and eat what is given them. It is the only time, so to speak, a *revenant* may satisfy his hunger, because, being in his own pueblo, he does not have to vie for crumbs of nourishment with stranger dead. Ordinarily, when food is offered to the dead and thrown down in church or house, the dead of *shipapu*, from whatever pueblo they may be, rush upon the crumbs without considering to whom the offering is made.

On the second of November all the people fast to help the dead support their woes. The preceding day or night everyone is expected to stay indoors—the men in the estufa, the women in their houses. The church bell is rung twice in succession at distinct intervals during one night and one day. The house doors are left open so that the dead may enter and visit their kin. In the houses the blankets, the shawls, all the wealth of the house is hung on the walls, and the animals are shut up in the corrals. The dead, they say, are pleased to see in visiting their kindred that they are prosperous.[1]

In a corner of the room food is placed in bowls for the *revenants* to eat. People believe too that the food deposited in the church is eaten by the dead.

The men stay in several different places. The *chaiani*, nude with their *iareko* in front of them, are in a place apart from the others. Members of the estufa Turquoise, of the estufa Squash, and the *crus* (a warrior group),[2] all likewise assemble separately.

[1] At Laguna on the fourth morning after the death everything belonging to the deceased is exposed, trunks opened, drawers pulled out, etc., that the deceased may view his things.—Ed.

[2] See p. 199.

All sing the entire night. The *crus* go from house to house[1] to dance a few moments to entertain the dead.[2] In each assemblage of men everybody contributes some offering to the dead, pumpkins, melons, bread, etc. These things are cut in small pieces and thrown outside for the dead to eat. Bundles of turkey feathers are also buried on this day in different places in the pueblo that the pueblo may come under the protection of *uretsete*[3]. The dead are supposed to carry away the food and in their dances decorate their heads with the feathers. (The *shiwanna* wear them.[4])

THE DEAD AND RAIN-MAKING

Shipapu is not the heaven of the Indians, it is their place of expiation.[5] Their heaven is called *wenima*. *Wenima* is the land of the *shiwanna*, *i. e.*, of the dead cleansed of their sins or sinless on their coming to *shipapu*. *Shipapu* is situated somewhere to the north of New Mexico, in Colorado, under the waters of a lake to which people sometimes make pilgrimage. When the deceased arrives at *shipapu*, at the end of four days he is received in the anteroom of *uretsete*. Two guards examine his *hachamuni* and let him in to his mother.[6] She says to him: "My son, take this road

[1] At Zuñi boys sing from house to house on the night of *ahoppa awan tewa* (the dead their day) and collect food. Similarly in the scalp ceremonial for four nights men called *dukuyada* sing and collect food, bits of which they throw up to the scalp on its pole. It is of interest to see the two practices in relation at Cochiti. In this case, as in others, organization is more differentiated at Zuñi than among the Keresans.—ED.

[2] Cp. E. C. Parsons, "All Souls' Day at Zuñi, Acoma, and Laguna," *Journal, American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXX (1917), pp. 495–6.—ED.

[3] At Zuñi, the day the *shalako* come in during the *koko awia* (gods come) ceremonial, feather-sticks are buried or immured in six places in a circuit of town. On coming in *shulawitsi* inspects the feather-sticks, and their position, erect or prostrate, is an omen (*teliuna*) of public fortune or misfortune.—ED.

[4] At Zuñi I have been told that no dancer would wear turkey feathers on his head, because, as turkeys are hard to raise, turkey feathers are a token of mortality. It may be noted, however, that there is a crown of turkey feathers on the mask of *shumaakoli* ("Zuñi Indians," pl. CXXIII.), the mask of the *shumakwe* or dead people, corpses (*shuma* in Keresan means dead).—ED.

[5] Or rather place of emergence. The conception of judgment after death and expiation is undoubtedly Christian.—ED.

[6] Cp. "The Sia" p. 145.

where S[1] will tell you whether you are to stay here a short while or a long to expiate your faults or whether you are to go to hell or directly to *wenima*." The deceased proceeds. If he has been a witch, a sin for which there is never a pardon, S says to him: "My son, your sin is very great, go to hell." Then the deceased goes into a round house in the form of an oven (or tower). Here are inextinguishable flames and here the deceased has to stand upright throughout eternity. Certain sinners are condemned not to go out from a circle of shell drawn around them by the *masewa* [war captains] of *shipapu*, and the circle is very small. They may eat only such insects as come near them, flies, worms, etc. The less sinful appear to expiate more especially through hunger and thirst. When relatives throw down food for them, all the dead rush for it and take bits from it.

The sinless go at once to *wenima* and become *shiwanna*. *Wenima* is in the west. It is a place like the most beautiful mountains. In it are royal pines and trees of all kinds, game, lakes, and meadows. Here there are two estufas[2] where the *shiwanna* guard their flashes of lightning. There is also an immense bowl of the shape of a funerary bowl.

When *uretsete* wants it to rain she sends one of her guards to *wenima* by the road of shell which connects that place with *shipapu*. The guard communicates the order to the greatest of the *shiwanna* who gives a *hachamuni* to each *shiwanna* he sends out to distribute the rain. The bowl has been filled with water by the *shiwanna*. Then they mount on the steps of the rim of the bowl which rises of itself to the back of the clouds.[3] There the bowl turns and follows

[1] It does not appear here for what this letter stands, but in other passages the author states that *uretsete* sends the dead to God or *kiinikama* to be judged. (*Kiini*, above, *kama*, his house.) It is possible that this S stands for *susistininako*, Spider. See p. 227, n. 5, and compare "The Sia," pp. 145–6. Elsewhere the author refers to the mother creator as *seutshaahanaya* (*Les Indiens du Nouveau-Mexique*, p. 15.) —ED.

[2] There appear to be two estufas (*tshikia*) at Cochiti—the Turquoise and the Squash—but of them the author gives little or no account. The two estufas of Jemez have the same names.—ED.

[3] At Zuñi, I have heard the terraced bowl referred to as "ghost bowl." From it a rain priest will pour out water for the deceased rainmakers to take into their bowl.—ED.

the direction the *shiwanna* wish to take. The *shiwanna* dip their *hachamuni* in the water together with the turkey feathers attached to the top of the terraces of the bowl, and they shake them gently over the land in all the directions. When the rain falls in large drops it means that the sprinkling *shiwanna* are men; women *shiwanna* sprinkle fine rain. The *shiwanna* make the thunder.

The *shiwanna* are perfectly happy at *wenima*, although they eat only the corn pollen that the people of the pueblo throw them. They spend their time in dancing and in singing for the pueblos, and in visiting the pueblos.

After a man dies, if by chance rain falls, people are pleased and say, "He was without sin, he is already a *shiwanna*, he gives us rain."[1] If on the other hand, a high wind blows, forming dust whirls, it is proof that the deceased was a witch. In this way he sends to the *shiwanna* the smell of dead animals so that the *shiwanna* will leave the pueblo and not send down rain.

About four years ago a man called Irowe was often heard to say, "When I die I am going to be a *shiwanna* and I will come from the side of the north. Look closely when they are dancing the *kachina*." Irowe died. Soon afterwards there was a dance. A child remembered the words of the deceased. He looked towards the north and when he saw the *shiwanna* coming from that direction, he thought he recognized Irowe, and he called out, "Look at my father Irowe who comes walking like a turkey!" The *shiwanna* grew very angry, they kicked the boy, and the *principales* took him aside and scolded him very severely, telling him that none should ever mention the name of a *shiwanna* he thought he recognized, it was a very great sin. Everybody at Cochiti still remembers this incident.

MASKED IMPERSONATIONS

The *shiwanna* are gods who give rain, health, and life, in short everything that makes for the welfare of man. It is mostly in their visits to the pueblos that they bring an abundance of benefits. By the most credulous and ignorant part of the community, the

[1] Cp. "Notes on Laguna Ceremonialism."

women and children, the secret dances are believed to be performed by *shiwanna* come from *wenima*. The other day a woman, married for ten years, said to her husband, "Do you know what I found out at Jemez? I found out that the *shiwanna* are the men of the pueblo."[1] The men all know that the *shiwanna* do not come from *wenima* since all have danced in the *kachina*. But they think that in putting the sacred mask on their head they take on the holy personality.[2] They think the spirits of the *shiwanna* are within these masks and that thus they visit the pueblos. If it happens to rain during a dance, the *shiwanna* sometimes gesture as if to say, "I am making the thunder, I am sending down the rain."

A secret dance is held when it is asked for, by the *principales*,[3] of the *nahia* (*naia*), a very important personage in the eyes of the people.[4] When the pueblo wants a *shiwanna* dance the *principales* summon the *nahia* to a meeting, one of the members of the council offers the *nahia* some corn meal wrapped in corn husk and a package of corn husk wrapped native tobacco. He who makes the offering to the *nahia* says to him:

I come to you to ask of you the good fortune we hope it will be your will to accord, and we pray you to consent to demand of your *shiwanna* to visit all our people, with a dance; for all of us, *principales* and Cacique and all the people, wish to see your *shiwanna*, and hope they will come very willingly and will bring to us good life and plentiful harvests of corn, wheat, watermelons, melons and of all other things which our people need to live on. And with this we hope that you will grant us our desires. We remain your sons.

Then the *nahia* takes the packages of corn and of tobacco and answers: "It is well, it is well. I will lead in to you the *shiwanna*,

[1] And yet at Jemez, too, it is said that women and children are kept strictly in ignorance of the identity of the dancers. A prospective dancer will tell his wife or child that he is leaving home to visit another pueblo. He may even take his gun along with him to give color to his story. Men, not women, carry food to the dancers who are shut up eight days in the estufa before the dance. In borrowing dance articles, a man would ask for the man of the house and bid him leave the object somewhere outdoors where it could subsequently be got. Late at night, after the dance, the dancers wash off their paint in the river and go home to hear perhaps from their family news of the dance they had been engaged in.—Ed.

[2] The personality of *kopershtaia*, says the author, in another passage, where he seems to identify *shiwanna* and *kopershtaia*. Cp. p. 209.—Ed.

[3] Unfortunately the author never defines this term.—Ed.

[4] See p. 198.

so that all the people will have long life and abundant harvests of corn, wheat, melons, etc." The meeting is adjourned to the next day. Then the *nahia* gives a definite answer, for he has spoken to those who are to dance the *kachina*, and he returns to each of the *principales* a pinch of the corn meal and of the tobacco given the night before. The meal is thrown out to the *shiwanna* and the tobacco is smoked by the *principales*.

From this day the young men[1] who have been notified to prepare to dance the *kachina* have every morning to take on an empty stomach some warm water, and to vomit. During four days they are given by the *nahia*, who supervises them, only a little piece of tortilla or *imaresh* once a day. During the night they practise the songs, songs very difficult to learn. The songs are ordinarily the same for every dance. Sometimes, however, the *nahia* will send to neighboring pueblos or even as far as Zuñi young men possessed of good memories to stay until they have learned new songs and are able to teach them.

On the fourth day after the petition to the *nahia*, the dance is performed in a place hidden from passersby. Moreover guards are placed on all the heights. If a traveler wishes to pass through a place where he might see something, he is turned aside by the guards who show him a roundabout way. Strangers resident in a pueblo are requested not to leave their house, their places are watched, and whatever they want is brought to them. In case travelers or residents are unwilling to forego seeing what is going on, the dancers are at once warned and they go into hiding until the alarm is passed.

The dance is held in some *arroyo* between the hills which rise on one side or the other of the Rio Grande. The dances of Cochiti frequently take place under an avenue of trees on the ranch of the *nahia* at Santa Cruz.[2] It is a delicious spot. Not far off flows the

[1] Women are not allowed to dance because of their indiscretion. Women are represented by two men dressed as women. [At Jemez women dance. However they do not join the men dancers in the estufa. Any woman given some sacred meal by the "headman" must dance.]

[2] In another passage the author refers to the dance place surrounded by houses, a place which was formerly, in the wars, a place of refuge. Here the "public" dances were performed and in the same connection certain burlesques are mentioned. At Acoma and Laguna the dance place for all out door dancing is a central plaza, *kakati*, the middle.—ED.

Rio Grande, and in the summer the coolness of the place and the outlook combine to refresh the soul.

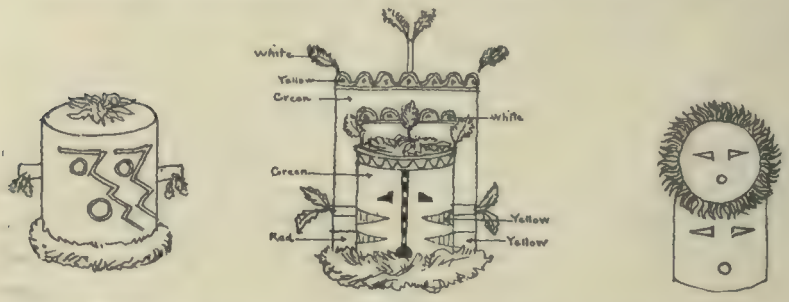
The first personage to appear to the onlookers is the *heruta* or chief of the *shiwanna*.[1] The *koshare* are as indispensable in the secret dances as in everything. Their chief is accosted by the *heruta*, who says to him in signs (the *shiwanna* never speak), "Here I have the *shiwanna* who have come to visit the pueblo and present a dance." "What a liar!" says the *koshare*. "Where are the dancers?" "Close by here. Ask the people if they want to see them." Then the *koshare* begs the Cacique to ask the people if they want to see the *shiwanna* or if the *koshare* asks them himself he spices his questions with pleasantries which are a delight to the people. "This old man asks if you want to see his dancers, the *shiwanna*. If you want to, he bids you say 'yes.'" The women begin to call out, "Yes, yes." The *heruta* is always deaf as well as dumb. He says in gestures, "I hear nothing at all." The women then start to cry out louder, "Yes, yes!" The *heruta* points to his ears and holds up one finger, he has heard only one person. "Yes, yes," begins again. The *koshare* says, "Call louder. This old man has ticks in his ears, he is deaf." Everybody laughs. Finally the *heruta* has heard. The *koshare* says to him, "Come, go get your *shiwanna*. Show us if you are lightfooted in running and bring them to us quickly." The *heruta* dances where he stands and then disappears around some corner.[2]

[1] According to Jemez information acquired at Zuñi, at Jemez *heluta* goes at sunrise to the Cacique and says, "My children will come if you want them." "All right," says the Cacique, and *heluta* returns to the estufa to lead out the dancers. *Heluta* was equated with *he'he'a*. Cp. *Anthropologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language* p. 384.—ED.

[2] [In another note on the play between *koshare* and *heruta* the author writes:] The *heruta* enters the estufa by the right. (There is a rule for entering the estufa. They go in by the right, out by the left.) The *koshare* are in the estufa making the people laugh. They say, "Here is the *heruta*." The *heruta* sees the *koshare*. The *heruta* comes and strikes the *koshare*. The *koshare* asks, "Who comes here? Here comes my friend." Acts frightened. "Where do you come from? What a liar you are. How comes this one here?" "Are you going deer hunting? He is a liar." The *heruta* does not speak, makes signs only. "Yes, I was going to hunt." "You are a liar." And the other *koshare* says to them, "You don't know what you are saying." The *heruta* says, "If you want to see my dance, I will bring it here." The *koshare*

Soon he returns with his *shiwanna*. At their head comes the *nahia* with his staff of authority in his hand. It is a little black wooden rod tipped with some white eagle feathers. His face is lit up with pride. He is the king at the feast, he is the benefactor of humanity. He points to the *shiwanna* with his staff and says to the people, "My sons and daughters, think of nothing else but of our *yaya*, the *shiwanna*. It is they who give us health, life, abundant harvests of corn, wheat, watermelons, etc. Be careful not to think of anything else." Everybody acclaims him, saying, *nahe tshra*! *nahe tshra*! thanks! thanks![1]

Behind the *nahia* comes the *heruta*. He wears the tribal cos-



a *b* *c*

FIG. 22.—*a*, Mask of *heruta*; *b*, Mask of *ahaye*; *c*, Mask of *oshasha* (sun). From sketches by Father Noël Dumarest.

tume—shirt of deerskin, deerskin fringes on the shoulders, and deerskin trouser legs fastened to the belt. He has a black mask, a kind of leathern box the top of which is covered with wooly buffalo hide. Across the lower part of the leathern ears are two little white eagle feathers. Lightning signs are painted on the face. To the bottom of the mask a rolled up coyote skin is sewn (fig. 22 *a*).

says, "This one is deceiving us . . . (To the people) The *heruta* says that if you wish him to make his people dance, say so; if not, say, 'No.'" All the women say, "Yes, we want to see the dance." The *koshare* says, "The people say yes." The *heruta* pretends to be deaf, in order that they may answer three times. They speak loudly, that he may hear. "Have you understood?" says the *koshare* to the *heruta*. "Yes, now I hear." "You are not going to deceive me?" "No, I will come at once with my dance. You shall see how nimble it is." The *heruta* goes out stamping. In five minutes the dancers enter, together with others, the *shruiyana*, they who watch around the dancers, sometimes eight with the *heruta*. They all go before the dancers.

[1] Elsewhere the author states that this term of thanksgiving is used only by the women.—ED.

[Besides this general account of the *shiwanna* dances, the author has the following note on a specific dance which he calls *ahaye* and which from the mask he pictures (fig. 22 *b*) is to be equated with the *hemish* of Laguna and Sia, of the Zuñi (*hemushikwe*) and Hopi.[1]]

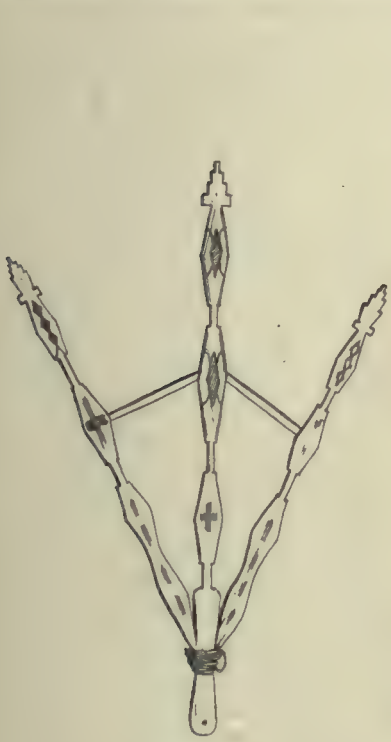


FIG. 23.

FIG. 24.

FIG. 23.—Stick used in *matachina* at Santo Domingo. In Brooklyn Institute Museum. Length, 23¼ inches.

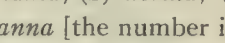
FIG. 24.—Mask of rain-making *shiwanna*. Similar to *kokokshi* mask of Zuñi, or, because of the eight feathers along the beard, to *upikaiupona*. Represents mask in the Brooklyn Institute Museum.

The *ahaye* was danced by the *crudos*.[2]—At ten o'clock all the dancers went in a horse-drawn wagon to Santa Cruz. In an avenue in front of the house of the *nahia* there were two *koshare* amusing the people. At ten, father *heruta* arrived. He promenaded up and

[1] Cp. "Zuñi Indians," pl. LXXIV; J. W. Fewkes, "Hopi Katcinas," pl. v. *Twenty-first Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (1904).

[2] See p. 199.

down. The women said, *nahe tshra*, thanks. *Heruta* took a *koshare* by the shoulder, saying to him in signs: "I am leading a dance of the *shiwanna* and if the people wish to see . . ." Being deaf, *heruta* did not need to answer and spoke three times. *Heruta* left. All the *shiwanna* appeared, coming two by two. They came out of a place where they were hidden, perhaps it was from a cave in order that people might say they came from a lower world.[1] The order was: (1) *nahia*, (2) *heruta*, (3) *shruiyana*, (4) *oshasha* [sun] *katsina*, (5) *shiwanna* [the number in the set is not given].

The two *shruiyana* had all the body painted black, the mask also, except for green on the forehead and lower jaw. The teeth design was  . The eyes, balls of buckskin painted black and red were on the outside of the mask. A wild-cat skin was behind, and in front, a beard of buffalo hair. One feather was on top of the mask (fur on top) and downy feathers under the ears. A belt of skin of some sort. Fringes of red wool. Before the parts a fringe of corn leaves. Behind, a fox skin; on the feet the skin of a skunk. In the hands two large pieces of yucca. *Oshasha* wore a green mask not of the round type, with black triangled eyes. A sun piece above the head was girt with red yarn. The face of the sun was green too (fig. 22 *c*). *Shiwanna:* Their arms were painted white with a hank of yellow green yarn around the wrists. From the left shoulder to the right they were painted yellow. A gourd[2] in the right hand, in the left, a branch of royal pine. Cotton belt;[3] *manta* [kilt?], red, white and black;[4] yarn at the knee; a rattle of turtle shell and hoofs of small animals[5] behind the leg,[6] moccasins

[1] Sometimes *heruta* pretends that he has lost some of the *shiwanna* and he begs the *koshare* to find them. "Where can we find them? One would have to be a witch to find them." Begged again, the *koshare* may go off soon to return to report that the missing *shiwanna* were carried away to a distance by witches, or the *koshare* may pretend to pull up by the roots a pine tree that was stuck into a trench dug the night before. Through the hole the *shiwanna* will emerge from the trench, to the acclamations of the people.,

[2] Laguna, gourd-rattle, *oyatsikina*.—ED.

[3] Laguna, *k'astupa*, rain belt strings.—ED.

[4] Laguna, *hotsini*.—ED.

[5] Laguna, turtle shell, *heati* (They get turtles from Isleta); rattle of deer, goat or sheep hoofs, *chichichichika*.—ED.

[6] The only other sound the *shiwanna* dance to is that of a notched stick rubbing against a sheep scapula held vertically on top of a squash hollowed out and dried in the sun.

Only the *crudos* impersonating *shiwanna* wear the mask figured below (fig. 22 *b*). At the back of the mask there is a little stick surmounted by two small eagle feathers, and there is also a bunch of small parrot feathers. At the top of the tablet and at the sides, eagle feathers. Beard[1] [collar?] of royal pine[2] (pl. V; pl. VI, fig. 2; fig. 25).

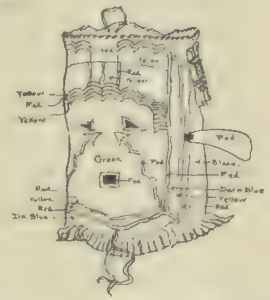


FIG. 25. Mask of *potshrowisht shiwanna*. Represents mask in the Brooklyn Institute Museum.

At noontime the *shruiyana* angrily dismissed the people—their call is *u* . . . . *u* . . . *u*[3]—in order that the *shiwanna* might not be seen eating. (The children believe that the *shiwanna* eat nothing but shell offerings.) Women[4] brought food for the *shiwanna*, but they did not bring it directly to the *shiwanna*. The war captains took the food from the women to the *shiwanna*.

When the dance was finished at sunset, the *nahia*, master of ceremony, spoke by signs to the *koshare*, saying, "It is finished. We wish all to be content and take our advice and have the good health and abundant corn we bring. It is going to rain heavily. We *shiwanna* are very glad to have seen you in good health and glad that you believe what we tell you. And so we are going." When the dance was concluding all the onlookers rose and danced with their *shiwanna*. As the *shiwanna* left in single file, all threw them

[1] In a note elsewhere the author refers to the beards as made of *palmilla* [jucca?] to represent rain. At Laguna the beard, for example, of *kuchinninaku*, the *k'atsina* female impersonation (cp. below) is said to represent rain. The yellow on the face represents corn pollen, and brings rain, perhaps in accordance with the familiar Pueblo Indian principle of like producing like—corn pollen through rain, and so in turn causing rain. The yellow pigment on the shoulders of the *shiwanna* may be to the same end.—ED.

[2] The evergreen collars of dancers at Zuñi and at Laguna are of spruce (Laguna, *hakak*, spruce, *wishgoni*, collar), and I surmize that "royal pine" as the author uses the term always refers to spruce.—ED.

[3] They [the *shruiyana*?] have not as at San Felipe thunder . . . [boards, *i. e.*, bull roarers] *tiumotsta* or *komotsta*.

[4] The two women who prepare the food are let in to the secret about the *shiwanna*. The women chosen are distinguished for their reticence.

shell, saying, "Eat, fathers *shiwanna*, eat that you may give us life, health, melons, etc."

Sometimes the *shiwanna* give the audience arrows which protect against witchcraft and, as noted, to barren women they give *oako*.

Shiwanna who give crops have cotton[1] on the head, and wear black (fig. 24) or yellow or red beards, symbols of rain-pour; they who give meat wear horns of deer or buffalo; they who give male or female children give *oako*, male or female. Sometimes the *shiwanna* carry articulated sticks to simulate lightning. These sticks can be made to dart out to a distance of almost three yards.

The chief male *shiwanna* are: North, *shrakaka*;[2] West, *shruiterawana*; South, *maiotehino*;[3] East, *shruisininawe*; Zenith, *koatiuma mashtitiamo*; Nadir, *morikiamo*. The females are *monako*, black woman; *kuirshkilinako*, dark yellow woman; *koshinako*, light yellow woman; *merinako*, green woman; *keukaninako*, red woman; *kashianako*, white woman.[4] As already noted, female *shiwanna* are personated by men.

When the clouds come, these women are wearing *haetchoni* (steps), as their design[5] is called, behind the clouds. When clouds come, people will say, "Here come *haetchoni*."

Other masked impersonations are: *tsayanawa* (bad men) who keep women and children from approaching the dancers[6] and who

[1] Representing clouds.

[2] Laguna, *shakak*.—Ed.

[3] Laguna, *maiudjurna*.—Ed.

[4] Cp. "The Sia," pp. 41, 130. Utset appointed six women, one for each direction, as intercessors with the cloud people. Cp. too, the cloud (cachina) youths and maidens of the six directions of the Tewa. (J. P. Harrington, "The Ethnography of the Tewa Indians," p. 56, *Twenty-ninth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (1907–8).

Color does not seem to be associated with direction either at Cochiti or at Laguna, at least not directly as at Zuñi or among the Tewa or Hopi. It seems probable, however, that the lack of association is merely a failure in the record. In another note the author associates red with the sun, green and yellow with the *yaya*, and white with the *koshare*.

Since writing the above a Laguna informant has given me the colors of lightning according to direction—yellow (*kodjini*), north; blue (*kwisk*), west; red (*kŭrg'ani*), south; white (*djamuts*), east; green ((*shatimatsi*), nadir; brown (*kwishdyi*), zenith. In Laguna tales, too, the color associations of the first four directions are reiterated.—Ed.

[5] The familar terrace pattern .—Ed.

[6] To be identified, presumedly, with *shruiyana* (p. 180) and with *tsanowani*

whip with giant yucca any dancer who loses his ornaments, in the belief that the dancer has not strictly observed his four day fast;[1] and *tiononi kastshrete wato shiwanna* (*shiwanna* who live in the white houses[2]); and *iopeteko*, dyer, a clown who marks with ergot on the cheek the people he meets, a messenger of good luck.

LIST OF SECRET[3] DANCES[4]

NAME	TRANSLATION OF NAMES, OR NOTES
(*Courrena* (*kurena*)[5]	*Shiwanna*[6]
Kiani[7]	Deer
Keutse	Antelope
Shrakaka [north]	*Crudos* [Crus]
Zuñi	*Crudos*
Tsacha tinistse	Collars of feathers
Koshare	
Kashtiatse	*Quirana*
Moshotsha[8]	Buffalo[9]
Komatsh	Comanche
Navajo	Navajo
Kiame	Eagle
Otshini (dance) *quirana*[10]	*Quirana*[11]

(angry person) of Laguna who was said to look like *natacka* of the Hopi. ("Hopi Katcinas," pl. x.) He is Bear (*k'waiye*) *k'atsina*. He stands in the middle of the line of *chakwena*, and he is their chief.—ED.

[1] The same belief exists at Laguna. At Zuñi I once saw all the people whipped by the *saialia* because during the dancing that season a mask had slipped off the face of a dancer.—ED.

[2] The oldest type of mask.

[3] By which the author appears only to mean that from them Whites are excluded. In one passage however, he states that the secret dances are the same as the public dances in their execution and often in their songs except that they are performed with very great solemnity.—ED.

[4] The author fails to state which of these dances are in mask and which are without mask, and his notes on the dances are so fragmentary that classification by the editor or assignment of the dances to a place in the ceremonial calendar to follow are out of the question.—ED.

[5] At Laguna the term for "*quirana*." I have heard it said at Laguna that formerly the chief *shikani-kurena cheani* had some control over the *k'atsina* (*shiwanna*).—ED.

[6] The author fails to state when the masks, figs. 4, 26, were worn.—ED.

[7] At Laguna a deer dance is held after a hunt.—ED.

[8] Woman dancers sometimes wear buffalo heads. (*Les Indiens du Nouveau-Mexique*, p. 5).—ED.

[9] See J. W. Fewkes, "Hopi Katcinas," vol. XXI (1904), *Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 31.

[10] Formerly at Laguna the *kurena* had a dance. Nowadays the solstice dance is

Niatsetako	*Matalote*
Ooue	Danced in the estufa in the spring
Awaniha[1]	War
Otatatimshte pashko	Of the plank (*De la planche*)
Tabla fiesta[2]	
Zuñi[3]	By the bachelors[4]
Matashina otshini	*Matachina*[5]
Aiaehinatsekanto	Dance in winter in the estufa[6]
Rshpenini	
Shkarapo	Tanoan
Tshakuina[7]	Winter bow dance

probably referred to as the *kurena* either because for some years the foremost surviving *cheani* was a *shikani cheani* or because the *kurena* are associated with the sun.—ED.

[11] The women have vermilion on their cheeks. On the left side of their head the men and women wear feathers of *chilika*, *shruis*, *sisikka* and *arahoma*. The *quirana* have no other object than dancing.

[1] The Zuñi annual war dance was *owinahaye*. The Laguna and Acoma war dance (likewise the Hopi) is called *hoinawe*. See "Notes on Acoma and Laguna," pp. 162–171.

[2] Women dancers wear green head tablets. On their face they paint large circles of vermilion. (*Les Indiens du Nouveau-Mexique*, p. 5.)—ED.

[3] The dance is with or without masks. The body is painted black, likewise stomach and chest and all behind. The arms are yellow to the neck. The face is painted with red ochre. Up to the knees, yellow; knees black; thighs white.

[4] In Zuñi ceremonials there appears to be no such alignment of married and unmarried as is seen at Isleta or at the northern pueblos. At Jemez, I have been told, there is gambling at weddings, and the winner gives a dance. If the winner is unmarried, the unmarried dance, if married, the married.—ED.

[5] Sometimes take place in the church where the priest is not present, and against his will. [There is dancing today in the church at Laguna.] See p. 186 and fig. 23.

[6] Into the estufa Turquoise Mexicans are admitted. Two men dance at a time, one from estufa Turquoise, one from estufa Squash. The Turquoise dancer is painted black, striped white; attached behind his head is a sun of eagle feathers, and disk of corn. The body of the Squash dancer is painted red. He has the same headdress, but the feathers are from the turkey. Both dancers have a fox tail, a hank of yarn at the knees, and rattles on the feet. Their face is painted with red ochre. A pebble in the right hand, in the left, eagle or turkey feathers according to the estufa. . . . A continuous dance from sundown to noon. . . . The dancer remains on the same spot. The song goes on for a long time. It is repeated only four times during the dance. The Squash dancer has a seat to the west, the Turquoise dancer to the East. When the Turquoise dancer has finished, he sits down and the Squash dancer begins. . . . When a dancer becomes tired, the women (say): "*Tipatsa*, Have strength." They put on another dancer. Great shame. . . . The women clap their hands. The dance is in order that it may not freeze. . . . They make four signs that they may make watermelons, corn, chile. . . . All those who wish may dance, whether *chaiani*, *quirana*, or others.

[7] The *chakwena* is danced by Hopi and at Zuñi and Laguna. Large bows are carried by the dancers and on their bodies is painted the sign of the bow, X. The dance

Tshanikoame	At the sunset, a dance with an aureole of feathers.
Tsianame	In line, the dancers are in line.
Waiursh[1]	Duck. Masks have a duck bill.

BURLESQUES

[The author refers to burlesque dances or performances with which he implies or states that the *koshare* are associated.] . . . I have seen ignoble imitations of religious [Catholic] ceremonies. I have also heard the Governor asked such questions as: "Who are you? One who commands or one who is commanded?" In Spanish the play of words[2] is subtle, and the point is the sharper because the Governor is weak and timid.[3] . . . There is a hunting comedy. The dance plaza is trimmed with artificial trees, with one in the centre. They represent the mountains where deer or bear are hunted. The actors are covered with the skins of deer, the antlers over the head, or the skins of wild sheep, bear, etc. Others are dressed in old rags. Generally there is a guitar player in imitation of the Mexican player—wherever there are Mexicans there are dances. The Mexican mimics call one another *compadre*, and treat one another in a friendly way. Then for nothing at all they begin to fight and to tear the clothes off one another. They keep it up. Sometimes they throw themselves into the mud of an artificial pond or climb up the trees, breaking down the branches. The deer impersonations pursue the "Mexican" hunters and finally

appears to be one of the oldest of the masked dances, and it is undoubtedly associated with war.—ED.

[1] *Waiyush*, at Laguna; *muluktakya*, at Zuñi.—ED.

[2] But the question has no doubt an institutional as well as a personal edge. At Zuñi the Governor and his group are merely go-betweens for the hierarchy.—ED.

[3] The figurative phrases and the comparisons of the people would fill pages. For example, they would say to me, "Father, do not try so hard to change us, a poplar will never be a fruit tree." . . . They call a man whose horses are always thin from hard riding *pesetsere*, a kind of bug which dries up melons when it gets on top of them and stings them. . . . When I first came to my post among the Keres they said that I seemed to be very good to people. An old councillor of San Felipe said to the council, "Strangers with us are like mules; as long as they are thin, you can approach them without fear, as soon as they are fat, there are no animals like them to kick." . . . Of a gadabout youth who comes home late they say, "He has eyes like an owl." . . . But it is in their farces that their imagination is most alive.

carry them off on their backs. . . . Sometimes in the dances two or three *koshare* pretend to be sowing or cultivating. Another *koshare*, dressed grotesquely as an American, will approach, carrying in one hand a piece of bread and, in the other, hidden behind his back, a big whip. The first *koshare* see the trap and run off at full speed, making diabolical faces. The moral of this pantomine is always to beware of Whites, whatever their appearance. . . . Another satirical piece is presented every year, at least at San Domingo, to ridicule Spanish-speaking people—the dance of the *matachines*. According to Indian tradition, this dance was instituted by Montezuma that the descendants of his race might have the pleasure of mocking their conquerors. A burlesque of the *matachines* is performed on the Day of the Kings at San Domingo, Indians representing the bull-fighters and dressed in rags turn their heads from side to side like absentminded and distracted persons and move their limbs grotesquely and extravagantly. The queen to whom they come to pay homage, instead of being chosen from the most beautiful children of the town, is a big man who crouches down to look little. He has a wig of tow and his cheeks are painted carmine. The bull is a man covered with the hide of a bull, the horns of the bull on the top of his head. At the moment when the bull is killed, the bull impersonator and the bull fighter delight the audience with obscene gestures.

CEREMONIAL RACES

When the *shiwanna* are to run, they first fast four days, *i. e.*, they take nothing in the morning except water after which they make themselves vomit, nothing in the evening, and at noon only a little wafer bread. The *nahia* says to them: "Now, my children, do not eat much. Today you have to endure to help our mothers, the *shiwanna*."

The *shiwanna* runners wear only masks and a coyote skin around the neck, a belt of cow hide and a handful of corn leaves over the private parts.

Each *shiwanna* runs four times. If the other runners[1] do not

[1] Racers have their faces painted half red and half green. (*Les Indiens du Nouveau-Mexique*, p. 5.)—ED.

catch them, they go away (to *wenima*). Then the *principales* summon them back in half an hour or an hour for another race. They run again. The *principales* name the runners at large from the pueblo.[1] When the *shiwanna* lose, they declare that they are going to give much *hiani*. If they are not caught, they will give nothing.

Men make such efforts to win that I have seen some of them die suddenly from running.

CURING AND WEATHER CONTROL SOCIETIES

Long before the people left *shipapu* under the waters of the lake in the north to settle at *tyouni* at the Rito de los Frijoles there were *chaiani*. The *chaiani* accompanied the people in their journey to the south. The *chaiani* are the children of the *yaya* or Mother of all. She was alone in the world. She lived on the tops of the mountains. One day as it rained in torrents she was impregnated by a little waterfall from the top of a rock. She bore a son. By this son she conceived and gave birth to children to whom she gave the gift of transforming themselves into eagles to fly after the witches who are everywhere in the air, to enter the body of lion or bear or wolf to conquer and destroy the witches.[2] —It is to frighten witches that *chaiani* draw over their hand a bear's paw, or hang a lion's paw around their neck, or wear a necklace of eagle talons or of bear or lion claws, or, as at Tesuque, wear a leather mask edged with claws.

[As the three chief societies, the author has already noted (see pp. 153–4), the *irshteani* (flint), the *schkoio* (giant), and the *shikarne*, an organization within that of the *quirana*. The *irshteani* have a membership of five or six, the *schkoio*, of six or seven, the *shikarne*, of five or six. In the following note in giving the specialties of the societies the author adds to his list of societies the *ipani*, the *hakani*,

[1] One of the games of the *koyemshi* at Zuñi is a race in the plaza between *koyemshi* and selected spectators.—Ed.

[2] At San Domingo, behind the altar of the church, are painted a bear and a mountain lion, witch destroyers. Above are figures of the sun and moon. In the church of San Felipe to the top of the wall facing the entrance is fastened a green disk with red rays. The vaulting of the church at Cochiti is covered with pictures of deer, mountain lions, bear, buffalo, hunters, lightning, clouds, and rain.

and the *shru'e*.[1] Elsewhere he notes the *toahe*, a subdivision of the societies, who are jugglers.[2]]

Schkoio	Fever
Irshteani [Flint]	Wounds
Ipani[3]	Burns
Hakani [fire]	Fever, burns
Shru'e [snake]	Bites of poisonous animals

The *hakani chaiani* will take a handful of burning straw, put out the flame, and put the ashes into their mouth. The saliva-moistened ashes are curative.

Chaiani may also be asked for non-magical medicines, and certain *chaiani* know how to cure the bites of poisonous beasts, to set broken limbs, to pull out teeth, etc.

[The author is not altogether explicit in regard to the weather control ceremonials of the *chaiani*. Besides the sun ceremonial referred to on p. 198, he refers to fasting by the *chaiani* to bring rain. See pp. 190, 192, 205.]

When the *chaiani* fast, and after two or three days no rain falls, they get a frog and in a sunny place they fasten him by a foot to a stake to call for rain. If his appeal succeeds he must be set free for the *shiwanna*.[4]

Before starting on a hunt a man will seek out a *chaiani* who alone has the right to attach feathers [make or complete a feather-stick] and say to him, "I beg you to fasten these feathers on my account in order that our Mother or the *kopershtaia* may give me what I seek, good fortune in hunting deer and turkey." The *chaiani* fastens three or four feathers, eagle, turkey, yellow-bird. The hunter throws it [the stick ?] or puts it under a stone. The *shiwanna* take it, they say, to ornament themselves.

Irshteani chaiani perform a dance after swallowing arrows the flint points of which are very sharp. Hence their name.[5]

[1] The *hakani* and *shru'e* societies are confused with other societies, at least at Cochiti. [2] See p. 195.

[3] By a Zuñi informant equated with the *k'oshikwe* of Zuñi, but the equation is somewhat doubtful as the *k'oshikwe* specialize in curing wounds.—Ed.

[4] A member of a *shiwanni* household at Zuñi suggested that this practice was followed at Cochiti because there they did not have the stone frogs the *ashiwanni* of Zuñi set out on their altars, set out for a like purpose.—Ed.

[5] At Laguna, Flint, Fire, *k'apina* and *koshare* were stick swallowers.—Ed.

Shikarne chaiani are much afraid of a medicinal plant called *shietretse wawa* (medicine), in Spanish *osha*. They believe they will fall ill from its very smell. To eat it would be death. For a like reason *shikarne chaiani* keep from eating *wako*, a plant which is eaten when young after it is cut up like spinach and boiled. For *shikarne chaiani*, rabbit meat is also a poison.[1] Nothing edible is abstained from by *irshteani* or by *schkoio chaiani*.

Women can be *chaiani*. There are always two women *chaiani*, *shiwanna chaiani*, in every pueblo. It is they who carry food to the *chaiani*. The *shiwanna chaiani* have in their house an *iareko* which they use only at their office in the spring time. Their office consists of making foam (*mushkatiumi*) with the root of *shiwanna mosha* (species of palm tree) which represents clouds and which the women throw to the six major *shiwanna* to obtain clouds.[2]

When the *shiwanna chaiani* move into another house they carry the *iareko* with them. Assistants throw meal on the *iareko* and moan and cry as if they were losing a member of the family.

The *shiwanna chaiani* are respectively under the head of the *shikarne* and of the *schkoio chaiani*. The other societies have no *shiwanna chaiani*.[3]

But to all the curing societies women may be admitted. Because of timidity, however, they rarely apply. Since people believe that the office is extremely hard, hard on account of long fasts, of fights against witches, and of great journeys taken nude of a cold night, sometimes in the snow, in pursuit of the witches, for many years only one woman doctor has been known. About fifteen years ago she lived at Cochiti under the name of Carmelita, and she was famous for her bravery.—In cures women doctors wear only their

[1] Taboos on rabbit (jack-rabbit) meat and on *wako* (Rocky Mountain bee plant) are also observed by the *shikani-kurena cheani* of Laguna and by the *shi'wanakwe* of Zuñi.—Ed.

[2] Cp. M. C. Stevenson, "Ethnobotany of the Zuñi Indians," p. 93, *Thirtieth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (1915).—Ed.

[3] It is tempting to see in this office of *shiwanna chaiani* of the *shikarne* and *schkoio* societies the origin of the Zuñi *ashiwanni*. How the *ashiwanni* organizations became differentiated from the *tikyawe* (curing societies or fraternities) is a problem. The *ashiwanni* are guardians of *ettowe* (*iareko*), the woman in each *shiwanni* group being the guardian *par excellence*, and the *ettone* is associated with the house, female property. —Ed.

manta, a kind of skirt of wool [the native woolen dress which leaves the left shoulder bare].

QUIRANA AND KOSHARE

The chief of the *quirana* is *quirana nawa*.[1] They are modeled upon the *quirana* who live under the waters of *yani kaweshra*, northeast of Santa Fé. Their chiefs *wikore* and *koetsame* have as wives *shrutia* and *nautia*.. The father of the present Cacique says that after throwing in *hachamuni* he saw *wikore* and *koetsame* come

FIG. 26.

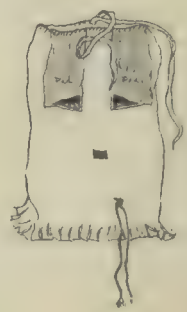


FIG. 27.

FIG. 26.—Mask of *quirana*. Twelve sparrow-hawk feathers on side are tied in sets of two. Represents mask in the Brooklyn Institute Museum.

FIG. 27.—Unidentified mask. Represents mask in the Brooklyn Institute Museum

out, walk on the water, and speak. Then they sank back. This happened the day they went to get water to fast[2] at Tesuque.

Hon hon ton ontonto is the cry of *wikore* and *koetsame* when they are angry. The chief is continually scolding.

The function of the *quirana* is to procure rain.

They have their secret dances of *shiwanna*.[3] The chief has a

[1] Honorific term. [At Laguna *nawai* is a term applied in the kin or clan group, meaning family or clan head or senior—seniority is implicit but it is not indispensable. As there are no longer *cheani* groups at Laguna, the term is not heard in connection with *cheani;* but when I would apply the term theoretically to *cheani* my informants would repeat the application as if it were suitable enough and not unfamiliar.]

[2] At Zuñi on the eve of their fast or retreat for rain the *ashiwanni* fetch water from a spring.—ED.

[3] Again it is tempting to see in these fragmentary notes a description of the germs of what at Zuñi developed into the organization of the *ashiwanni* and into the *koko* who

green mask with large black bands. There is a beard. The costume is of the same stuff as the *malinche's*[1] with a dance belt. The other *koetsame*, has a mask like those of Zuñi, no beard, but a duck bill.

He has a white shirt, a bandalier called *pani*, a *manta* of cotton, boots of (?), the queue beribboned, skunk skin at the ankles. The chief says that there is a heavy punishment for those who fail the day they dance at the ceremonies. When they take in a novice the *malinche* comes out, but the masked dance is always hidden.

The *koshare* are *chaiani* at a certain age. In their cures they do not suck.[2] Their only method is "the brushing way."[3] The invalid is the only witness of the ceremony; nobody is admitted. The invalid becomes an *entremesero* [clown].[4]

[From the following notes we may conclude that the *quirana* and *koshare* were instituted at *shipapu* with the other *chaiani*.]

After *masewa*[5] had shut up the three chief *chaiani* (the heads of the *irshteani*, *shikarne*, and *schkoio*), so that they might be without distractions, they asked *masewa* to resign from the *koshare* and *quirana* and from another office called *kuets* [antelope?][6]

(The *kuets payatyamu* sing in the songs of [?illegible] and are *crudos*.)

When *masewa* asked help from the three sets of *chaiani* and the result was not good, he would ask the *koshare* and *quirana* to help with their dances and prayers.

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are said to belong to the *ashiwanni*. For the correspondence at Zuñi between the earthly and the subaqueous groups see "Zuñi Indians," pp. 47, 430.—Ed.

[1] See p. 229.

[2] At Laguna I have been told that cure by sucking was particularly associated with the *koshare*.—Ed.

[3] This English term in quotation marks is used by the author.—Ed.

[4] *I. e.*, *koshare*. This is the only reference made to the important subject of initiation into the societies because of illness, a method of initiation followed at Zuñi, at Laguna, and, I am told by Dr. Lowie, by the Hopi. Elsewhere Father Dumarest states that initiates into the curing societies must have been without shedding blood for four years and peace abiding. (*Les Indiens du Nouveau Mexique*, p. 22).—Ed.

[5] *Masewa* is the elder of the twin war gods (see pp. 216 ff.) but, as at Laguna, he is constantly referred to as a leader or "culture hero" irrespective of his brother.—Ed.

[6] It is tempting to guess that the author is referring to the antelope clan headship of the *shiwanna*. At Laguna the initiates into the *k'atsina* cult are called *shuts* (raw, *i. e.*, Sp. *crudos*) *k'atsina cheani*.—Ed.

When all were ready to leave *shipapu*, *masewa* said to the *koshare* that the true clowns or the spirits of the *koshare* should remain (at *koakeutshr* ?),[1] and that the *quirana* should stay in the direction of the north in the place called *yani kawersh*. These are the two places where the *koshare* and the *quirana* live. The *irshteani* and the others were given the lot of living in *wenima* because they were neither *koshare* nor *quirana*—they were pure *shiwanna*.

When all the people started for the south and when they began to dance and to have diversions, two clowns always came out to amuse the people,[2] and the officials (the three chief *chaiani*) thought that very wrong,[3] or rather were jealous, because the clowns performed many miracles and because they did whatever came into their heads. All the other officials said to the two clowns that they went beyond bounds, that they were performing more miracles than the Mother. Thereupon the two *koshare* said that they would return to *shipapu* to hold council with her who had given them power. They went there. When they had presented themselves with their *yaya*, they said that the three officials had criticised their performance of miracles. Then the Mother said to them that the *koshare wayatyama* had no power to do secret things or miracles, that he had power only to amuse the people and to make the *shiwanna* come and to have *koshare* dances.

Before the *chaiani* dance they soak and crush a species of mountain grass, beating it with a stone upon a flat stone. Suds are made, and the *chaiani* put them on their heads[4] to represent clouds. The rite is a prayer for rain.

After a fast of four days, ordered by the war captain, the *chaiani*[5]

[1] At Laguna the *koshare* are said to come from the east where the sun lives. They live under a lake where there is a whirlpool (*gowaik'chu'*). They go ahead of the *k'atsina*, at sunrise singing, "The *k'atsina* are here, I brought them."—ED.

[2] See p. 186.

[3] For a like tradition of grievance against encroachment of the *koshare* at Laguna see "Ceremonialism at Laguna."—ED.

[4] The groups are not specified, so that *chaiani* other than the *quirana* and *koshare* may be referred to.—ED.

[5] Cp. F. H. Cushing, *Zuni Folk-Tales*, pp. 253 ff. New York and London, 1901; E. C. Parsons, "Pueblo Indian Folk-Tales, Probably of Spanish Provenience" *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXXI (1918), 217 n. 1.

perform a dance ceremonial with an *atchtse*. The *atchtse* is a figure representing the sun and the moon.[1] It is costumed Indian fashion except for a feather in the head and two feathers near the armpits. The shirt is made of deerskin because formerly cotton was not worn. The eyes are turquoises. The head and arms are attached to the trunk by pieces of buckskin. The arms are bent. In dancing only the legs and the head move. The dancing lasts throughout a song. [In another note the author indicates that this account of a puppet dance has been gotten from Mexican neighbors of the Indians of San Domingo and San Felipe. The Indians themselves refused to substantiate it.]

When people want to know the outcome of a project, they may send for a *chaiani* who, after fasting, will draw a line of meal from the door to the opposite wall where the *kopershtaia* are set out. While the *chaiani* sings, his *iareko* will advance from its position on the meal line in front of the other idols towards the door, providing the outcome is to be favorable, otherwise it remains immobile. At other times the *iareko* will be placed in a bowl behind which a large piece of cloth is stretched. If the outcome is to be favorable, the *iareko* will slowly rise up during the singing and move in the air from east to west.

Similarly the *chaiani* can make a gourd rattle (*guaje*) stand on end without touching it, and they can make feathers wave in the different directions as if they were alive.

NOTE ON CHAIANI OF JEMEZ

tiami (Eagle) *chaiani*

If one wants to belong to this society which exists only at Jemez, one must go to Jemez to a cave not far from the town. On arriving at the cave, if one sees in the middle of it footprints like children's, footprints of a people who live in the cave and are invisible, it is a sign that the postulant will be a very good *chaiani* and have good luck hunting eagles.[2]

[1] Elsewhere the author associates the *koshare* with the sun and the *quirana* with the moon for whom they fast every month. (*Les Indiens du Nouveau-Mexique*, p.17). —Ed.

[2] [In another passage the author locates the cave or tunnel near Pecos.] After the test the postulant undergoes, if tracks of deer, antelope, or lion are seen in the soil of the cave it is a sign of future success.

When these *chaiani* want to perform their offices they fast eight days. If they are married, they have to make their wives fast. The fast is nominal. They must be continent. On the ninth day they leave home for the Valles, a very pleasant place northwest of Cochiti. The wife knows she must fast, must remain continent and must not cook with grease in the pot. If by chance a wife can not meet these conditions, however far from home the husband may be, in the pit where he is lying in wait for an eagle, he hears the grease sizzle in the pot and knows that at that very moment his wife has broken through the conditions. The trapper waits for the eagle to come. He catches it. If the eagle is full of fat, the man knows for a certainty that his wife has broken the fast and used grease at her meals. If the trapper catches many eagles and the birds are handsomely feathered, he knows that his wife has kept faith.

The pits made by these Eagle *chaiani* in the Valles are encircled with plants. At the bottom of the pit is a bowl filled with water which serves as a mirror to reflect the eagle. Fastened in the plants is a rabbit to attract the eagle. As soon as the eagle alights, the *chaiani* can catch him, for the eagle is unwilling to abandon his prey.[1]

These *chaiani* keep their hunting instruments far out of sight from town. They make a palisade of stakes and cover it with branches of royal pine. They supply the curing societies with the eagle feathers needed in ritual.

Tubaji

This society exists only to tell fortunes. It has more work in winter than in summer. When the *tubaji* go out in a body into the town, it is a sign that much snow will fall because they go out only when it is going to snow or storm. At other times people assemble in the estufa to undertake the office of magic (*pojacante*).

[1] Cp. *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, p. 508; A. L. Kroeber, "The Arapaho." *Bulletin American Museum of Natural History*, vol. XVIII (1902), p. 22. A Laguna informant familiar with Navajo customs asserts that this way of trapping eagles is not Pueblo but Navajo. At Zuñi young eagles are taken from the cliff-built nest by a boy let down over the edge of the cliff.—ED.

Sometimes they summon a water snake (*tsitz shrue*) with a green horn. When it comes into the estufa, it lies down in front of the officers. Then the chief (*mayor*) (or one of the *tubaji*) says to it: "If you are to be a sign of good omen, throw water out from your mouth." Then the snake commences to throw water out from its mouth. This water is a sign[1] that the year will be good, that there will be much water, abundant harvests of wheat, corn etc.

The *tubaji* will rap with their heel on the roof of the estufa and ask to come in. Having descended, they sing and then shake out from their body in all directions grains of corn. The assembly rushes to pick up the grains and with the grains each has recovered he passes in front of the *tubaji*. They who have no grains or only one or two are reprimanded as having little faith in their Mother and consequently little chance of getting from her *hiani*, long life, health, wealth and happiness; whereas they who show a number of grains receive flattering encouragement.

These *chaiani* make the scarecrows of the fields speak. Sometimes they call one from a distance. He comes into the estufa. They ask him, "Whence come you?" "From work for such and such a person." "Good, we have summoned you to ask you how it went with you down there where you were taking care of corn, melons, etc." "It went very well with me." "How did your master (he who put you in his place) treat you?" "My master treated me sometimes well and sometimes badly, because children at times would steal the melons and fruits which I guarded. Unbeknown to his wife, my master, too, would steal away melons from me and take them to his sweetheart."

APACHE AND NAVAJO MAGIC

The office of *tubaji* (*toahe*) may be filled by an Apache juggler.[2] Apache and Navajo are thought of as superior in magic, and

[1] *Teliuna*, the Zuñi would say. In the ceremonial, *ololowishkya ia*, fluid is analogously ejected (from the penis of *ololowishkya*) as a *teliuna*. And in the quadrennial initiation of the boys water as well as seeds are ejected from the mouth of the image of *kolowitsi*, the horned water-snake.—Ed.

[2] Elsewhere the author states that the office may be filled by Hopi. Cp. A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, pp. 308, 309, *Papers, American Archaeological Institute*, American Series, III (1890).—Ed.

they are sometimes invited to exhibit their powers. The Apache juggler is handsomely dressed in garments fringed with yucca fiber. His moccasins are covered all over with many colored beads; he wears a green mask with a green horn curving backwards from the forehead and representing the horn of the water serpent.[1]

When Navajo come into the neighborhood, the Indians (the Mexicans as well) consult them about finding strayed animals. The sonambulist Navajo will sing and, clasping his hands, will move them about as he spins around until he falls down in a kind of catalepsy. The direction his rigid hands point to is the direction of the lost object.[2] "Yes, the Navajo outdo us in magic," say the Pueblo people, "in a single night they can bring to maturity a grain of corn thrown on the fire."

CACIQUE[3] (*irshteamoni*)[4]

The Cacique belongs to the *irshteani chaiani*. He is the oldest in office of the *irshteani*, and he receives his power (like all the *chaiani*) when his predecessor is at the point of death. A moribund Cacique names his successor, but he is bound to name the oldest *irshteani chaiani*.[5] *Ex officio* the Cacique belongs to the *hakani*, *shru'e*, and *koshare*.[6]

Whether or not the Cacique may be deposed is an open question. Six years ago, at San Felipe, the predecessor of the present Cacique was charged with favoring modern ideas and he was deposed by his enemies. This novel and severe procedure aroused opposition which is still a source of disorder. I infer that this single instance

[1] Cp. "Hopi Katchinas," pl. XXVI.—ED.

[2] E. C. Parsons, "A Zuñi Detective," *Man*, vol. XVI (1916), pp. 168–70.

[3] There is in every pueblo a cacique. Likewise a *nahia*, a governor, a vice-governor, *alguazils* (the number varies with the importance of the pueblo), a war captain and his aids, a fiscal and his subordinates.

[A Jemez informant recently at Zuñi mentioned for his pueblo three *mayores*, two war captains, two fiscals.]

[4] Spelled also *schteamoni* and *rshteamuni*. The term *tiamoni* is familiar at Sia and Laguna. The Cacique or *tiamoni* of Laguna was also referred to, particularly in tales, as *hachamuni kaiuk*, prayer-stick broken, *i.e.*, bent.—ED.

[5] He is declared successor [installed?] by the *nahia* and war captains.

[6] [In another passage the author states that] the Cacique is at the head of all the secret societies, but he is more particularly the head of the *irshteani* and the *koshare*.

will not be followed, and it may be said that the Cacique is appointed for life. But the Cacique is subject to punishment. If he offend against the customs established by the Mother or by Montezuma,[1] he is judged by the war captain; if against the laws or morals which the governor protects, by the governor. A guilty Cacique must kneel and receive from an *alguazil* the number of lashes decreed by his judge.

Nevertheless, the respect paid to the Cacique is very great. At certain periods of the year the war captain organizes hunts for the benefit of the Cacique, and lands are cultivated for his maintenance. The Cacique has two assistants (*schtraekatsi*), the first is the head of the *shikarne chaiani*, the second is the head of the *schkoio chaiani*.

The Cacique is called *yaya*, mother, but he is accounted the father as well as the mother of all the people. He has to pray and fast for all, for the whole world, even for the Whites, that all may obtain *iani*, *i. e.*, life, health, and good harvests. He can enter into no social entanglements, he is a man of peace. Therefore is he relieved of all executive functions. He neither denounces nor punishes. He gives advice and counsels harmony. "Let us be united as brothers. Thus our Mother will aid us and keep us in health. Thus from her breath we shall receive the health she is herself possessed of."

The Cacique has a little jar. What he keeps in it I do not know.[2] He has no staff of office. He has experience in medicine. If he reveals the workings of magic, like any of the *chaiani*, he must die.[3]

The Cacique nominates yearly the governor and all officials not holding office for life. His appointing authority however is not unconditional. He might make nominations against the wish of all, but practically he does not. Towards the close of the year

[1] See p. 228.

[2] Cp. "Zuñi Indians," p. 163.

[3] The betrayer of secrets is said to be shut up in the room of the *quirana*. The war captains guard him. They make a square and place him in it and say to him, "If you stir from there, you die." He stands there entirely nude. Were he to put a foot outside the square, they would shoot him with arrows.

he summons the *principales* and says to them: "I have considered giving you as governor or war captain so and so who seems to me fit to fill the office in a way to satisfy you." Ordinarily the proposal is received with acclamation. Sometimes observations are humbly expressed, but rarely does anyone entertain the idea of interfering with the nominations of the Cacique, particularly at the solemn moment of their proclamation.

On very solemn occasions the Cacique "makes the sun travel." A wagon cover is stretched against a wall and a disc of wood painted green is placed on the ground towards the east. Then the Cacique and his companion *chaiani* order the disc to move. At the words, *hina oshratsha payatyama*, "Move, Sun, our father [? youth]," the disc gradually describes a quarter of a circle, then stops for a moment at the order, "*pana* (stop), it is noon." Then it continues its course, subsiding on the ground only at the close of the song.

NAHIA[1] (WAR PRIEST), CRUDOS, MATALOTES[2]

Second in the hierarchy is the *nahia*. The office of *nahia* is usually shared by two of the *principales*. The office is for life and, like the Cacique, the *nahia* is named by his predecessor. He is always chosen from the *crudos*, *i. e.*, men who are not *chaiani*, who belong to no society.

The *nahia* is chosen for his intelligence and his memory,[3] for he is both advisor to the Cacique and guardian of traditions unknown in part even to the *principales* and sometimes even to the Cacique.[4]

[1] The word also means down, under. [There is some ambiguity here. Unless the *h* is sounded the word is the same as that for mother.]

[2] *Crudos* and *matalotes* are presumably Spanish terms. The author in a vocabulary gives *taiawa* for *matalote*, and he sometimes substitutes for *crudos* the French equivalent, *crus*. Raw, crude, hence uninitiated in Keresan (Laguna) is *shuts*. The term is used for those who assist *cheani*, *e.g.*, *shutskurena cheani* or *shutsshiwanna cheani*. *Shuts k'atsina cheani* is also said, and *shuts masewa* is a term applied to the war captains in distinction, I suppose, to the *opi*, as scalp-takers of Laguna, Acoma, and Sant Ana were called.

[3] He is a great liar. He says everything contrary to what the priest says in church.

[4] The *apilashiwanni mosi* is the homologue at Zuñi of the *nahia*. The Keresan conception of the office as that of trusteeship of custom leads one to think that some of the recorded activities of the *apilashiwanni mosi* at Zuñi are not individualistic but official. (See "Notes on Zuñi," pt. II, 267 ff.) Indeed the *apilashiwanni* or bow priests of Zuñi, the *tsatio hocheni* or war captains of Laguna, and the *nahia* and his assistants of Cochiti are all ritualistic police.—ED.

He is also counsellor to *masewa*. He supervises the *principales*, the *chaiani*, the *shiwanna*. He is chief and organizer of the secret dances. He maintains the customs. Like the Cacique he is called *yaya*, for by his fasting and prayers he too brings rain. This office of paramount authority[1] was created when the people left *shipapu* for the south. *Masewa* called a meeting and asked for an adjutant to serve him when he went to war. The *nahia*[2] is the same as *masewa* and *oyoyawa*.

The *nahia* (*shreutsenawaia*) is the head of the *crudos*.

The functions of the *crudos* consists of fasting four days in the chamber [estufa ?] of the *shiwanna* and of singing. None is admitted. All that is known is that they speak [call ?] like *shiwanna*. The *nahia* is keeper of leathern masks called *kaponaia*. He has a little black staff (Sp. *vareta;* Ker. *iape*) with fine eagle feathers.[3] He passes it on to his chosen successor. The *nahia* and his assistants have the right to make the images[4] of the *kopershtaia*, a right their predecessors received from the Mother.

The pigments used by the *nahia* and his assistants in painting the *kopershtaia* and the *shiwanna* [the dancers themselves ?] are red from the iron cooked bark of a mountain tree; white from chalky soil; black from soot; blue or green (*kouirshk*) obtained with great labor from stone containing sulphate of iron, powdered and mixed with turpentine and left on the fire for a long time. Then, to fix the color, water in which a ground-up pumpkin seed has been steeped is squirted from the mouth on the pigment.

To the office of *nahia* is sometimes added the office of the head of the *matalotes* (*taiawa*), men who have killed one or more Navajo and brought back the scalps or who have killed at least some mountain lions or bears.[5] The head of the organization is he who

[1] Elsewhere the author refers to the *nahia* as *hotshani*, in Keresan a general term for chief.—Ed.

[2] And presumedly his assistant, "younger brother," the Zuñi would say. Like the elder brother and younger brother bow priests of Zuñi, the *nahia* and his assistant are proxies of the war gods.—Ed.

[3] The Zuñi bow priest who is the special prosecutor of witches has a staff or cane of office.—Ed.

[4] See p. 203.

[5] These animals are thought to be human and to put on their animal skins at pleasure. Some of them are malevolent and classed with Navajo, others are *chaiani* and visit the pueblos to cure the sick. See p. 235.

has the greatest number of kills to his credit. The head of the *matalotes* is the leader in the war dances. The Cacique is not necessarily *matalote*,[1] but he has the right in the war dances to assign to each dancer his *malinche* or female partner. Recently, at Cochiti, this right was usurped by the *nahia* who is also head of the *matalotes*. He was on his way to fetch to the dance one of the women he had chosen when the Cacique met him and had him make the poor woman change from her dance dress and give it over to the woman the Cacique himself had chosen. The episode made considerable noise.

OFFICERS

The foremost is the captain of war (*tsiatoio*),[2] the *masewa*. He is leader in case of war. He is guardian of the customs and when the customs are not carried out, he punishes. His lieutenant (*teniente*) has like functions. These officers are appointed annually.

The governor has charge only of the external affairs of the pueblo. He has the church built and repaired and he keeps in good repair the estufa or council room. He assigns to each his work at the time of the communal planting. He negotiates with strangers who want to rent land and he arranges for the opening of public roads. He is justice of the peace, acting upon cases against morals and public order. If he himself is guilty of crime he is deposed[3] and punished. If he is suspected of unbelief in connection with the customs, as in a recent case, he is denounced to the captain of war who judges him and punishes according to custom.

The most common punishments inflicted by the war captains

[1] The last Cacique of Laguna was one. He was also a Flint *cheani*. Naiuchi of Zuñi was chief bow priest as well as chief rain priest of the north.—ED.

[2] In another passage the author says that it is difficult to know if his office is inferior to the Governor's, for his authority extends to matters quite different. In civil matters, however, the captain of war is subordinate to the governor.—ED.

[3] [As stated on p. 197 he and the other officers are elected annually and they may be reelected.] For almost ten years José Hilario Montoya has held the office of governor. He is a man of rapid and profound thought, incredibly active, and endowed in a high degree with a talent for gentle diplomacy and with unfailing virtue. He has encouraged men to send their children to school and he has always directed the people into lines of progress, retaining the sympathy alike of the Indians and of all Whites who have come into relation with him.

and by the governor are the stocks (*cepo*) and whipping. In stocks the head and feet are held between two boards, and the imprisonment without food or drink may last three days. The whipping may consist of as many as fifty lashes. After confession, the culprit has to kneel down or be fastened to a beam by his wrists so that his feet barely touch the ground. Then the *alguazil*, after being warned that he will suffer the same punishment unless he strike with all his force, proceeds to apply the lash of braided raw hide. At the third lash the blood flows, and a woman will faint. Men will sometimes take the punishment without a murmur and it is in general a disgrace to show in being punished any sign of weakness.

When a man has refused to take part in the dances or has shown any contempt for the ceremonials the war captain interrogates him. A confession is the hardest thing in the world to get from an Indian, and the accused may keep the court waiting for days.[1] If finally he refuses to answer, the war captain will have him strip and will trace a circle around his feet out of which he may not go until he confesses. According to his sentence he may stand or sit, but both positions are cruel. An old man told me that he was once charged with unbelief and had to stand upright in the circle. At the end of a day he fainted. They raised him up and asked him if he plead guilty. By nature very direct and simple, he said to himself, "If I say yes, I lie and do wrong; if I say no, I shall die." Finally he said, "Yes, my brother, I admit I have done wrong." He was delivered. The next day he fled to Santa Fé and applied for American citizenship. This audacious and unprecendented move brought him the contempt of everybody, even of his children. The old *nahia* advised people publicly not to imitate "criminals who free themselves from their sanctions and become American citizens as a horse shut up with other bronchos in a corral might throw down the *lata*" (a piece of wood forming the enclosure.)

[1] If an Indian is taken in the act, he will deny with assurance enough to make his captor doubt himself. The Indian believes that it is for God to punish him if he can escape his judges. Only when a man sees that his judges are inflexible will he confess to a part of the truth.

However, the example of the innovation has singularly intimidated the authorities of Cochiti and reduced the number and severity of their punishments. At San Felipe and particularly at San Domingo primitive rigor still attaches to punishments. At Jemez, on the contrary, the sanctions have little force. Only three years ago the governor was stripped and put into the stocks after a general orgy—native as well as federal law prohibits fermented liquor.

The head *alguazil* obeys both the governor and the war captain. He has charge of public works, in particular of the irrigation. He gives notice about communal work, and he sees to it that workmen are not late. If they are late or absent without permission, he punishes them. He issues permits to leave town. The *alguazil* has to guard the dances and ceremonies against inquisitive eyes.[1] He keeps the communal moneys. His *teniente* has the same functions. At Santo Domingo there are twelve *alguazils*.

The office of *fiscal* appears to be a recent institution. The fiscals were originally the servants of the priest when there was a priest in every pueblo. The head fiscal still has charge of church repairs, of cultivating the lands of the priest, and of irrigating a ditch of the church. He brings in the priest's harvests, he looks after his horses, and on his parochial visits he supplies him with food. The stick of office of the fiscals is surmounted by a cross. The fiscals enforce [?] the use of the rosary on Sunday. They punish people if they come late [to church ?], going from house to house to whip.[2]

They are in charge of *tshirillo kiinikama* (whip, above, his house, *i. e.*, God), God's whip, a whip hung up in the church and used lightly on sinners who ask this favor of the fiscals.[3]

The sacristan is appointed for life, but he has no stick of office and is not considered an officer. However, he is over the fiscals.

Warshtetshra (bird) is an honorific term applied to some of the officers, *e. g.*, *pishkale warshtetshra*, bird fiscal.

[1] See p. 157, n. 4, for a like function at cures.

[2] Cp. the provision for whipping as a sanction in connection with the governor and *tenientes* of Zuñi. ("Notes on Zuñi," pt. II, p. 275)—ED.

[3] This practice is of extreme interest in a study of the general Pueblo practice of whipping as a rite of exorcism.—ED.

CEREMONIAL CALENDAR

At the time called *haniko*, when the sun returns to the north [winter solstice] the *quirana* as well as the *irshteani*, the *schkoio* and *shikarne* are charged with repainting the *kopershtaia* and the masks. They go then and deposit a package of *tawaka* (little pieces of wood thrown with the feet because the *shiwanna* come from *wenima* playing *tawaka*),[1] *maherskeutshrape* (a little wheel of *hachoa*, a large reed), *waershtiaka* (little bow), *tshaetse* (hunting-stick), *oshratsa haetse* (a little woven disc representing a *chimal*).[2] In the dance, a gesture is made with the little bow as if drawing it against Navajo and there is a gesture of hitting the enemy with the *tshaetse*. All the things offered to the Sun say to him, "Give us success in fighting." The things are also offered so the Sun will protect the harvests from the time of sowing from frosts, grasshoppers, etc.

During the sacred week of the Catholic church they fast. They dance *shiwanna* out of doors.[3] They say they go to Jesus Christ through fasting and through dancing. The Day of the Kings [Twelfth night: Epiphany], the Cacique furnishes the *koshare* a theme for comedy.[4] The canes[5] are blessed [exorcised]. Four

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[1] Stick races are no doubt referred to. Stick races are run at Zuñi for rain. At Laguña mud balls rolled up on the river bank when the river is in flood are called *shiwanna tawaka*. They are used as medicine. And at Laguna miniature kicking sticks (*tawaka*) are offered in *arroyos* and in irrigation ditches by the *shiwanna cheani* to be carried down by the flood.—Ed.

[2] This is a term used by the Tepecanos of Mexico to describe their little diagonal or hexagon of yarn corresponding to the "God's eye" of the Huichol (J. A. Mason, "Tepecano Prayers," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol. I (1918), no. 2, p. 91) and to a like object fastened to the ceremonial arrows of the Cora. There can be little doubt that between "God's eye" or "face" and the netted shield of the Zuñi and the Keresans (see E. C. Parsons, "War God Shrines of Laguna and Zuñi," *American Anthropologist* (N. S.), vol. XX, 1918), pls. III, IV) there is a genetic relationship. The use of the term *chimal* by the author and its implication are somewhat remarkable, and are probably the first recorded observation of the Mexican and New Mexican resemblance.—Ed.

[3] There are dances during holy week at Acoma and at Laguna.—Ed.

[4] See p. 185. Cp. "Notes on Acoma and Laguna," pp. 168–9; W. W. Robbins, J. P. Harrington, B. Freire-Marecco, "Ethnology of the Tewa Indians," p. 95, *Bulletin 55, Bureau of American Ethnology* (1916).

[5] *Iape.* (They are the sticks of office possessed by the governor and officers at Zuñi, Acoma, Laguna and, no doubt, in all the pueblos.)

days later the captains give notice to all the people that in the night cures will be made. The sick are put in three houses.[1] An altar is set in each house, the *schkoio*, *irshteani*, *shikarne* in each. The canes of the captain and his *teniente* are in the house of the *irshteani*, those of the governor and his *teniente* in the house of the *schkoio*, those of the fiscal and his *teniente* in the house of the *shikarne*. Guns, chiefly those which have done harm, and arrows are placed near the canes. Everybody is present. The *chaiani* are at the altar with the *iareko* and the *monos*. [Sp., bunches of feathers, *i. e.*, in this case feather-sticks.]

One *chaiani* advances in front of the others before the *kopershtaia*. He takes the crystal ball and puts it in the sacred water. As he looks into the ball, he says:

Tuo	poakachani	hao	masewa	kawetiame	poakachani	kuitse
look		here	his sons		look	how they are

chawekie	masewa	kuitse	chiawekia	tiamuni	hao	heme	kawasa
his sons		how they are	his son	cacique	here	thus	pain

kanate	hao	tseniti
knows profoundly	here	knows the body to the core [?]

mohina	shrooako	shraatsete	hatche	ine	meiawe
let us go	let us go		like men		

The *chaiani* also cure the canes, and they spit.[2]

Then the *chaiani* sprinkle shell on the canes, giving the canes to the officers and saying to them, "This cane does not seem little, it is a great thing, it is our father."[3] They give the guns, saying, "Do not be afraid lest they harm you. They are cured."

[In the list of dances, certain dances are referred to as winter or spring dances, but the time of performing the greater number of the dances is unspecified. In this respect, therefore, the calendar is very incomplete. The following general note may be added:] In the month of November they sing to the Sun and they dance for

[1] This night of general cure occurs at Zuñi and at Isleta during the winter solstice ceremonial. At Laguna at the close of the all-night solstice ceremonial everybody is given a drink of medicine.—ED.

[2] Referring, no doubt, to a rite of exorcism common among the Keresans and at Zuñi.—ED.

[3] At Zuñi and elsewhere the canes of office have an obviously fetichistic character, but this sprinkling of meal on the canes is the plainest avowal of that character I have yet heard of.—ED.

him that he may preserve their life and that it may not be cold. The Cacique has a basket (*jicarilla*) full of *hachamuni*. (Cp. fig. 28.)

The fasts. In the beginning of June they begin the fasts. There is a feast given by the people in the evening. Nothing the next day. The day following at noon another little feast. They stop eating. The fourth day another feast like the first day. They sing until sundown. Others are notified they are going to come in.[1]

The fasting is not over until the first frost. In the autumn the fast lasts strictly the whole four days.

In case of a great drought the order of fasting[2] by the *chaiani* is: *irshteani*, *shikarne*, *schkoio*, *quirana*, *shreutse*.[3]

The *chaiani* have an altar behind which they sing, the *monos* in front:

FIG. 28.—*Hachamuni* probably of a society. In the Brooklyn Institute Museum. Length, 7 inches.

shiwanna tsatse no tona hei hai kiti he shrakaka kashi wanate
comes north rain helping
tsate no shiwanna tsate no hinia ia a a shiwanna tsatse no hima ya hawa poni konihi hanihi tonahai notski kinino[4]

The men are nude, the women wear a *manta*. The *chaiani* smoke. In summer there is a rite with suds. During the fast the

[1] I infer that, as at Zuñi, the annual fasts are made by successive groups.—ED.

[2] See p. 188.

[3] Presumedly the group of which the *nahia*, called (see p. 199) *shreutsenawaia* is the head, *i. e.*, the *crudos* or *matalotes* ?—ED.

[4] [In another note the author writes:] That the rain may fall, the fasters sing: "Over there at the North comes *shiwanna* or *yaya* with clouds and brings rain in order that it may fall upon our lands to make our corn, watermelons, wheat, melons and all that we sow, grow."

captain and *alquazil* are on watch against intruders. The door is closed except in summer. The captain decides on the time to close the ceremony.

[Ceremonial races are mentioned by the author, although the time of holding them is unspecified. Of the communal hunts into which ceremonialism also enters the author makes no mention. In October, 1913, I happened to be passing through Cochiti the day of a hunt and, at a distance,[1] I saw the start and the gay homecoming. Riding into town about 9 a. m. we passed about an eighth of a mile to the northeast of the town an elderly man sitting at prayer before a small fire. An hour or so later, in this locality, the hunters, men and women, gathered together and I heard singing. At sunset they returned. About an eighth of a mile to the northwest of the town, a group of men gathered together for a few minutes. The women in two's and three's came in on foot, laughing and talking and carrying the game—rabbits, small rodents, and quail. I was told that the woman first to reach a hunter after he had made a kill became the recipient.][2]

ESTUFAS AND CEREMONIAL PLACES

[In a note on dances[3] the author implies that there are two estufas, the Turquoise and the Squash. The two estufas of Jemez go by the same name, and the Jemez system of two estufas is characteristic of the Keresans of the Rio Grande. The summer and winter divisions of the Tewa are called Turquoise and Squash.[4]]

Near Cochiti to the north there is a place formed of stones placed in a round. Two are upright. In the middle are prayer-sticks. In the neighborhood are to be found the feathers of eagles

[1] I was not allowed to join the hunt. "They would only let you go," said my guide from Santa Clara, "if you told them you were the daughter of the Cacique of Santa Clara." Seeing me look interested, he straightway repented of even that slight reference to custom or local joke, and withheld explanation.—ED.

[2] A like practise is or was followed at Laguna, I infer from an account of a communal hunt recorded by Dr. Boas. "'When somebody kills a rabbit for you women, you will have to run for it.' Thus says the head war captain" (before the hunters start out).—ED.

[3] See p. 184, n. 6.

[4] Harrington, p. 62.

and turkeys; and little bowls in which they place nourishment for the dead. Such shrines are in all the higher places near Cochiti, Santo Domingo and San Filipe. This shrine at Cochiti is in a ravine very near the wires surrounding a piece of land of the Cacique.

There is another shrine near Santo Domingo to the northwest, and another very important shrine is at the summit of the Potrerito de los Idolos, in an almost inaccessible place. It is formed like an estufa. Stones placed circularly occupy a space of about fourteen feet in diameter. Formerly there were straight stones four or five feet high placed circularly. In the middle there is a depression of seven or eight feet filled nowadays with stones and dust. On the level two stones five feet high close up the entrance. One of them, called by the Mexicans a prostrate man, is nothing but the figure of a lizard or a chameleon.[1] It is about the size of a man, the whole stone weighing 300 pounds. Seen from above it appears indeed like a man lying down. But there is no tradition to correspond to this interpretation, one given to the Mexicans with the intent to mislead them and hide the customs from them. The truth is that that animal must have been put there with the intent of having him guard the feathers, turquoises or other offerings. The animal is painted with red ochre and there are traces of corn meal offerings near him.

About three miles south of this place, on the other side of the Rio Grande, is a cave, made in a ravine, called *schkoio schkakahaush*, the place where the giant is shut up. The giant referred to was shut up by *masewa* and *oyoyawa* because of the great harm he was doing in the country and because he was devouring the children. It is strange to see this cave, at the height it is, closed up with four stones the smallest of which may weigh about 400 or 500 pounds, strange because originally the only ladders the Indians had were notched beams. The Indians say that nowadays none of them could place stones in such a position. The ravine measures about sixty feet from top to bottom and the cave measures twenty feet from the top to the entrance and forty or fifty feet from the entrance to the base. The opening is five or six feet wide and six feet high.

[1] It is the mountain lion which is always represented with a long tail.—Ed.

A little to the southeast of *schkoio schkakahaush* are found two caves called *kanakiaia eartritsh*, the house of the witches. One of these has been struck by lightning and destroyed. It is the one further south and below Peña Blanca. In the other cave the witches are reputed to hold their meetings at night.

A little further to the south, likewise on the banks of the Rio Grande, in the *arroyos*, the *shiwanna* teach each other the songs which are said to originate in *wenima*. Near by are two places like natural circuses, that is to say, places hollowed out by water, where the *shiwanna* used to dance. Nowadays the chief of the secret dances prefers a very hidden and retired *arroyo*. Once a shepherd was seated in the shade of a cedar on the side of the river opposite the dancing place. The shepherd was a poor innocent, but nevertheless the Indians were afraid lest he should tell the people of the place what he had seen. The river was very high. It seemed impossible to cross. But the dance would have had to stop had there been a witness of it. Then the *shiwanna* saw a child driving beeves to pasture; they took two beeves, made them swim the river and held on to their tails. Thus they were able to cross the river and drive away the shepherd who was looking at them. The incident shows how careful the Indians are to keep their customs jealously to themselves.

Further down, nearly a half mile, is a place where the *shiwanna* races are held. The course is about 460 paces.

About two miles to the north is the place (*tsits* [water] *sehtotro eatrich*) where the adolescent boys got their supernatural experience.[1]

PANTHEON

[The author is confused in regard to the supernatural or supernaturals referred to as *kopershtaia*. He gives little or no definition and his references are contradictory. To the Indians themselves the term, no doubt, is indefinite. It is the term used for God or the higher powers, says Father Dumarest in one passage. At Laguna the term certainly refers to a number of supernaturals, to

[1] See p. 145.

various nature powers.[1] And this seems to be the application of the term at Sia. But at both Laguna and Sia just which supernaturals are to be included is ambiguous. The term has been used at Zuñi even more ambiguously.]

Kopershtaia lives at *shipapu* and is always accompanied by *masewa* and *oyoyawa*. *Kopershtaia* is also called *seutsh raanaya*, our mother. [But *kopershtaia* are both male and female, *kopershtaia payatyama* and *kopershtaia kochinako*. See p. 144.] The Cacique is in every pueblo the representative of *kopershtaia*. The war captain and his vicar are called by the names of the twins and serve the Cacique as *masewa* and *oyoyawa* serve *kopershtaia* in the world below, *i. e.*, under the waters of the lake in Colorado called *shipapu*. Pilgrimages are sometimes made to this lake in honor of *kopershtaia*.[2]

The images of *kopershtaia* which I have seen in houses are made of stone (fig. 29, 31) or painted on a round board fig. 30). The pictures are symbols of those things in the universe which most inspire veneration in the Indian because of their utility. In figure 30 may be seen the sun, the moon, the stars, arrows of lightning, clouds (represented by the white color painted on the back of the wooden idol).

The sun was made by *uretsete*. It is a disc of shells behind which is hidden *payatyama*, Sun-man, who illumines the world in his flight through space.[3]

[For *uretsete*, see pp. 160, 172, and for *masewa* and *oyoyawa*, see pp. 191, 199. The author summarizes:] Thus the Mother and *masewa*

[1] And I have heard it translated there as angels.—ED.

[2] Formerly the Indians of Pecos [in one copy, Taos] made *kopershtaia* human sacrifices. They chose a young man and a young woman, and dressed them as if they were betrothed. They adorned their heads with the most beautiful parrot feathers they could find, and they conducted them to the edge of the lake. There they began to sing in honor of the god and they bade the children enter the water. Some trap having been set in advance, in all probability, the victims would advance and be gradually submerged. When the feathers on the top of their head disappeared, the song would end. [This incident figures in the mythology of Sia and of Zuñi, (and Dr. Mason has just recorded it among the Papago) and it seems probable that the author has taken a mythical tradition at Cochiti as historical.]

[3] See p. 222.

and *oyoyawa* perfected the world, the Mother by instituting the *chaiani*, the twins by freeing the world from giants and animals, in making them subservient to the *chaiani*, and by forcing the *shiwanna* to perform their duty.

[For the *shiwanna* see pp. 174 ff. The reremain the animals to which supernatural qualities are attributed.]

[The animals associated with the six directions are as at Sia,

FIG. 29.

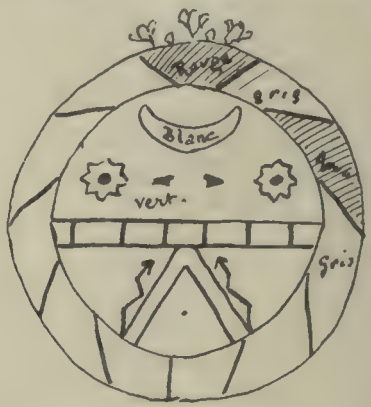

FIG. 30.

FIG. 29.—Image of *kopershtaia*. Drawn from a photograph taken by Father Noël Dumarest.

FIG. 30.—Wooden representation of *kopershtaia*. Drawn by Father Noël Dumarest.

Laguna and Zuñi the mountain lion of the north, the bear of the west, the badger of the south, the wolf of the east, the eagle of the zenith, the shrew of the nadir.]

The six animals were living in *shipapu*. *Masewa* gathered together his councillors to let them know his projects and to consult with them about instituting the officers of the secret cult. The decision of the council was that the six animals should divest themselves of their power, as one sheds a garment, and give it to men for the making of cures. Instead of these animals certain men went on the emigration to the south. That is the reason why the *chaiani* take a part of the skin of these anima's to clothe themselves with during the ceremonies. They wear at the neck a piece of the hide and the claws of a mountain lion; on the arm, the skin of a

bear's paw. Those who keep guard at the door of the sick person, in order that strangers may not approach during the fight of the *chaiani* with the witches, *i. e.*, the *alguazil* and the *alguazilitos*,

FIG. 31.—Stone images from Cochiti in Brooklyn Institute Museum.

receive from the *chaiani*, as we have noted, figurines of stone representing the six animals.

The mountain lion has power in hunting. Men carry a quiver made of his skin, so as to receive from him his power.[1] The bear is

[1] At Laguna the *kashare* carry a quiver of mountain lion skin, and small images of the mountain lion are carried by hunters.—ED.

venerated; it figures among the *kopershtaia*. The badger burrows, and is very keen at hunting out rabbits, jackrabbits, rats, etc. He is, therefore, venerated. The shrew burrows. Although he is very little, he digs deep. There is a belief that when the deer sleeps and makes wind, this rodent enters his intestines and kills him.[1] Therefore they venerate him. He has also the power to excavate in the earth a passage for witches who are supposed sometimes to go under ground. The eagle has the power to hunt rabbits, bears, etc., and to hunt in the air. The *chaiani* wear their claws because they impart the power to hunt and to attack witches who have the gift of flying.

MYTHS AND TALES

URETSETE

Guessing by Tracks; On whom Fall the First Rays of the Sun?; Creation from the Dead; The Institution of the Curing Orders.

Naotsete and Uretsete quarreled from childhood because Naotsete, the elder sister, mother of Whites, was jealous of the younger, Uretsete, mother of Indians. Both sisters wanted to go to the south to people that region. They were to have a contest to determine who had the right to go. The elder sister said one day to the younger sister who lived somewhere in the north in a house with four rooms, "Come, I have need of you." She showed her a road of corn meal which led from the west to a room in the east. On this road were the tracks of a bird. Naotsete said to Uretsete, "Look at these tracks. Can you tell me to what creature they belong?" Uretsete was wise, she did not speak at once. She said sadly, "These tracks go from west to east." Naotsete said quickly, "What creature do they belong to? Call it by name." The younger sister said, "Turkey Man, come out from your hiding place." The creature was indeed a turkey. He came out. He sat down next to Uretsete and said to her, "Mother, here I am." And he leaned his head against her cheek as if to caress her. Naotsete got irritated and said, "You are only a witch. I am quite right in always thus calling you." A little later Uretsete called

[1] This exploit by mole (*china*) figures in the twin war gods cycle among the Sia ("The Sia," pp. 52–3), and in a Laguna tale recorded by Dr. Boas the war gods put shrew up bear's nose to kill him.—ED.

her sister and said to her, "I need you here. Look at these tracks. Can you tell me the direction they go in?" The tracks of the time before had this form (the narrator marked ⋀) but the direction of the tracks Uretsete showed to Naotsete was much more difficult to tell. They had this form—╳. Meanwhile Naotsete considered them casually and, laughing, said to her sister, "These tracks certainly go to the east. How could you have shut up this creature in the west in a room filled with a refuse heap of ashes and filth?" Uretsete said to her, "Call the creature by name. What is it?" "It is certainly a crow. There are no other creatures which make such tracks. "Crow Man," said she, "turn to the east, come out." A silence followed. Naotsete looked cross. She began to see her mistake. Then Uretsete turned to the east and said, "Chaparral-cock come out!" Then the chaparral-cock came out from the room on the east and approached Uretsete in a friendly way to join the turkey in caring for her. Angered, Naotsete again called her sister a witch and withdrew sadly. Another day she called her sister and said to her, "Uretsete, my sister, look at these tracks on the road of meal. Whose are they?" Uretsete began to weep, for she was afraid of being defeated. Her sister scolded her, saying, "Come, and you a witch! Say what you are afraid of." But Uretsete was not a witch. She heard the voice of *kopershtaia* who encouraged her and promised her success. Then she said, "This track is that of a serpent." "But of what serpent?" "Of a rattlesnake." "You see I am right in calling you a witch. . . . And in what direction does he go?" "To the northeast." Then Uretsete turned to the northeast and said, "Serpent Man, come out." And the serpent came out, saying, "My mother, here I am." And Uretsete took some corn meal and put it on the head of the serpent who took it into his mouth with his tongue, and approached Uretsete with affection. Naotsete said to the serpent, "You may go with your mother to hell. I do not want you." And the serpent answered, "Yes, I want to stay with my mother." A final trial was made. Uretsete called her sister and showed her tracks like those of the crow. She said to her elder sister, "Whose tracks are these, my sister?" Naotsete got angry and said to her, "Witch, why do

you always make it hard for me?" "My sister, I did not challenge you. It was you who obliged me to take part in the struggle." Then Naotsete examined the tracks of the bird and said, "These are tracks of a crow coming from the south." And turning to the north she said, "Crow Man, come out." She received no response. Then Uretsete turning to the south, said, "*Tehana* Man, come out." And he came out and lined up on the side of Uretsete.[1]

Naotsete was so angry she wanted to strike her sister and she seized her by the hair. But Uretsete said to her, "No, my sister, I do not want to harm you nor have you harm me. You were the first to challenge, but listen. We are going to meet a final test and, if you agree, after a fast of four days, we will stand on the same line, facing the east. You are bigger than I, you have the advantage." Naotsete agreed. Then the two sisters gave notice to their fathers mothers, brothers and children. The people of the place divided into two sides, one for Naotsete, the other for Uretsete. Both sides made arrows during the four days the sisters fasted, because the sides too were to fight against each other after the test of the sisters.[2] At the end of four days the sisters took a stand side by side on top of a little hill. On top of her head each had an upright eagle feather. Naotsete who stood to the north was a head taller than her sister, and chance appeared to be in her favor. Behind the sisters were the captains and the sub-captains charged with watching. Then came further back the two groups. Then Spider Man sent the magpie (*shrouakaia*)[3] (or *hakiaia*) to the east. The magpie spread a wing over the northern part of the sun and covered it, particularly the top of it. Thus when the first rays reached the two sisters they fell first on the top of the feather worn by Uretsete, and when they fell on the feather of Naotsete they were already lighting up the shoulders of Uretsete. Uretsete said, "Only look,

[1] Cp. "The Sia," pp. 31–2.

[2] It was agreed that the side of the victorious sister should always be victorious. That is why the Pueblo people, the children of Uretsete were always victorious against the Navajo, the children of Naotsete.

[3] A rare bird whose yellow feathers are a part of the *tietchte* or collection of feathers of the different birds reputed magical (eagle, turkey, etc.).

my sister. I have won." Naotsete did not answer and turned her head so as not to see.[1]

After several moments of silence, Uretsete took her sister by the arms and made her look. Naotsete, conquered, said: "Yes, you kill me." The younger sister seized her body, and the captains helped to tie her and throw her down. Naotsete said, "Yes, kill me and go to the south, since you have beaten me, but let me say one thing before I die." And she said, "Know this, the earth must be thickly peopled, and our sons will be just like ourselves." Then Uretsete cut open her chest between the ribs, tore out her heart, split it through the middle, and spread open each half. From the north side came out a squirrel[2] and from the south side a white dove.[3]

Uretsete then went into *shipapu*, separating from her children. Before they left, she said to them: "My children, you must leave. I remain. Keep from quarreling. Do not follow the example of my elder sister.[4] If you do not follow my advice, you will regret it. However, if you get into trouble, send for me and I will help you." During the journey to the south disputes began; bad words and rows of all sorts[5] divided the people. Their punishment was a great epidemic which decimated them. Then they said, "Let us send Coyote to Uretsete, that he may fetch from our mother a remedy for our ills." Coyote said, "I go very willingly." He ran hard. On arriving, he recounted to Uretsete the misfortunes of the people. She began to laugh and said, "What has happened? They have not followed my advice and have behaved themselves

[1] E. C. Parsons, "Nativity Myth at Laguna and Zuñi," *Journal, American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXXI, p. 262 (Zuñi). Recorded at Laguna by Dr. Boas.—ED.

[2] Naotsete had said, "Just as the squirrel from my heart will find safety under the cliffs and in holes, so my children will seek refuge in flight and in dens."

[3] Cp. "The Sia," pp. 33–4; *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, p. 356; P. E. Goddard, "Jicarilla Apache Texts," *Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. VIII (1911), p. 206 n. 1.

[4] The party of Naotsete were to follow the party of Uretsete.

[5] They quarreled over the women they had in common. The old men add that probably at that time they had no chiefs, otherwise these disorders would not have occurred. In the opinion of the old men the definite organization of the people dates only from the time of Montezuma.

badly?" Coyote said, "I do not know." Uretsete said to him, "Go to the people and take them these packages of meal and of tobacco, and tell them to send me two from among themselves." Two men arrived. During the journey of Coyote and of the men, Uretsete had reflected upon a means of remedying the ills of her sons. She had planned an *iareko*. She wound thongs of deer hide about an ear of corn and placed at its top feathers of a turkey which at her order had shaken out its feathers for her.[1] But finding that her work was not perfect, she had called Spider, saying to him, "I have wished to make for my people something endowed with the same power as myself, and to give it to them. I know that you are thoughtful. How does my work seem to you?" Spider said, "It is good, but put at the top some parrot feathers, and at the neck some eagle-down, and all will be well." Uretsete did this, and thus was created the *iareko*, which she gave to the two men sent by the emigrants. She said to the two, after having initiated them into the mysteries of the *chaiani*, "This has the same power as I. Take it to my people, that the sick may recover health."[2] These two men, made *chaiani* or medicine-men, returned to the people with the order to confer on others the same power which they themselves had received. Then they set themselves to curing people, and cures took place in great number.

MASEWA AND OYOYAWA

Impregnation by Sun; Stuffed Bear; Burrow to Heart of Monster; Prey Creatures Destroyed; Test of the Twins by Fire; Test by Fierce Animals; Carrying the Solar Disc; Sun's Throwing-Stick; Destruction of Giants; Stolen Lightning; The *Shiwanna* Established.

It was very long ago. When the people went out from *shipapu* to settle themselves at tyuoni or Rito de los Frijoles, a woman, together with her husband and little daughter, separated from the

[1] That feathers for ceremonial use should come from a living bird is a common concept in the Southwest.—ED.

[2] It is notable that here the *iareko* is associated with curing rather than with rain making. At Zuñi too, the *mi'li* is associated with curing as it belongs only to members of the medicine order in a society.—ED.

other emigrants[1] to go and live somewhere to the north of the mountains of Santa Fé. When the girl was so big (The narrator held out his arm at the height of his shoulder) there came to her a great desire to have, like her parents, a child to fondle. "My mother," said she, "has had a child; I must have one also." And she wandered about the mountains, tormented by the idea that, perhaps, unless she found a husband, she would not have the happiness of being a mother. Finally one day she noticed a ray of sunlight which entered through the top of the grotto, and she prayed to it to give her a son. She was soon assured that her prayers had been granted.[2]

At the end of the day her pregnancy was so advanced that her father reproached her cruelly and said to her, "My daughter, in what condition do you return?" She persisted for a long time in making no reply; she could only answer, "There is nothing the matter with me." The father's questions continued at length. He asked his wife, "What is the matter with our daughter? Look at her." "She is pregnant," said the mother. "My daughter, since you despise our authority over you, you may go to live with him whom you seek as a husband. We recognize you no longer as our daughter. Go away." Thereupon the father and mother did not even let her keep her clothing, and the poor thing went away to the south, to the summit of the mountains of Bernalillo. She was very sad. Spider, under the form of a very old woman, so old that she

[1] Antonio says that he has seen in California, near San Luis Obispo, a descendant of a *chaiani* of the emigration. This Indian sang:

Komi ha cha hi ru
Komi ha ha hi ru
That happened in the past
Thus it happened in the past.

The *chaiani* of California went to fast in the spring for four days on an island. In their song it was said that the sun ought to stand still at noon. There was a California Indian in Cochiti who sang a *chaiani* song: "Those who chose arrows."

[2] Cp. P. E. Goddard, "Myths and Tales from the San Carlos Apache," p. 8, *Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. XXIV, pt. I, 1918; F. Russell, "Myths of the Jicarilla Apache," *Journal, American Folk-Lore*, vol. XI (1898). 255; P. E. Goddard, "Myths and Tales from the White Mountain Apache," pp. 93, 116, 120. *Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. XXIV, pt. II (1919).

could not walk, came and said to her, "My daughter, do not weep. You carry something great in your womb. All will go well; you will have a very happy life. In two days you will be delivered, and I will take care of you." The child consoled herself. At the end of two days she underwent the pangs of childbirth and brought into the world a son; he was Masewa; then another, he was Oyoyawa. They were born four days after being conceived. Neither of them had any infancy; at birth they began to walk and to speak.[1]

When four days old, Masewa said to his mother, "Mother, we have no meat; what shall we eat?" "But, my child, what would you do? We cannot kill any deer." "What are deer, mother?" "They are yellow animals." "I want to kill some. But what do they kill them with?" "With a bow and arrows." "Mother, make me a bow and some arrows. I want to kill some deer." "But, my child, they are too far away. They eat people; you cannot go there." "How long does it take to go where they are?" "You cannot go there. Ah! what a child! He does nothing but torment me!" "Mother, if you wanted us to die of hunger, why did you bring us into the world?" "Ah, what a tiresome child!" At last the mother, to get rid of his insistence, made him a bow and some arrows. Masewa looked at them and said: "But these arrows are no use. Something is missing here. Mother, what is it that they lack?" "Feathers." "Besides, this crooked wood is no good. Mother, where is the material to make good arrows of?" "In a place you may not approach because it is guarded by Lion Man who devours people." "Is this place far away?" "One day from here." "That is nothing. I am going there."

Despite the complaints of his mother, Masewa and his brother departed for the place where the lion was. "How are you, Masewa?" said Lion. "Well, Lion Man." "Where are you going?" "Here only. We come to look for wood to make arrows." "That is not possible, Masewa." "Then we will fight. I have the means here to defend myself." Lion hurled himself upon the children and they shot him with their poor bow and with their featherless arrows. They skinned him and carried away the hide. Then

[1] Cp. "The Sia," p. 43.

Bear came along: "How are you, Masewa?" "Well." Where are you going?" "Here only; we want wood to make arrows." "That is not possible." "Then we are going to fight." Masewa threw himself upon the bear and killed him. He drew out the flesh and the bones through the mouth, filled the skin with hay, made a rope with the fibres of the dwarf palm, attached it to the neck of the stuffed bear and, after taking the wood for the arrows, he dragged the stuffed bear to his house. "Mother, he said, "What lies you told us in assuring us that these animals were so evil. See how gentle this one is." And he mounted astride of the stuffed bear. His mother was frightened and said to him, "Take care; he will eat you." Masewa laughed.[1]

Another day Masewa said to his mother, "Mother, where can one find the feathers which are placed at the ends of arrows?" "How this child wars against me! Eagle lives very far from here on a rocky peak over a precipice, and he lives only upon human flesh." "How long does it take to get there?" "Two days." "You shall see that it takes only one." Masewa and Oyoyawa set out carrying some provisions which their mother had prepared for them. But having arrived near the place where Eagle lived, they were dying of thirst. They wanted to go and drink at a spring. But it was guarded by Deer, who said to them: "How are you?" "Well." "Where are you going?" "Here only; we want to drink; we are dying of thirst." "That may not be," said Deer, and he went and lay down on his left side, close to the spring. Squirrel came: "How are you?" "Well." "Where are you going?" "Here only. We want to drink, but Deer prevents us." "I will do you a favor," said Squirrel. Then he hollowed out the ground up to the place where the heart of the antelope was, and the burrow was large enough for the two children to pass through it. They went in and shot an arrow into the heart

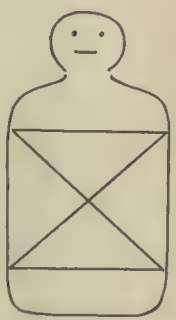

FIG. 32.—Amulet of *masewa*. Drawn by Father Noël Dumarest.

[1] Cp. "The Sia," p. 47; (Isleta) C. F. Lumunis, *Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories*, pp. 213 14. New York, 1910. (Laguna) Boas, in ms., (Zuñi) Parsons, in ms.

of the antelope. The antelope tried to strike the two children with his horns, but he could not reach them, and he died.[1]

Then Masewa cleaned out the deer, filled the intestines with blood, put one of them about his neck, two others crossed[2] about his chest and loins, and went to the place which the nest of the eagle overhung. Oyayawa made the same preparations and went with him. The eagle seized Masewa by the intestine which he had placed about his neck, and lifted him up above the nest. Masewa laughed, and he fell near the nest without hurting himself, for the intestine had broken. It was the turn of Oyoyawa; he had the same luck. The eagle started to swoop down on them, but before he had time to close on them he was pierced by an arrow and he died. They tore out his feathers and said: "Now indeed we have deer's meat to eat and for our arrows feathers." In the nest there were some eaglets. Masewa and Oyoyawa took them and said to them: "Little eagles, henceforth you must not eat human flesh. You have rabbits and jackrabbits and birds; why do you eat men?" "Because we like their meat better." "Henceforth that must be stopped." And it was stopped.[3] Then the two children returned to their mother and said to her: "What lies you told us when you said it took two days to go to the place where Eagle lived. You

[1] Cp. "The Sia," p. 53; (Zuñi) Parsons, in ms.; "Myths and Tales of the San Carlos Apache," pp. 15–16; "Myths of the Jicarilla Apache," p. 256.

[2] Most men sew on the breast of their shirts narrow red bands, one above the other; or even in the form of a cross: X. This custom is probably an allusion to the above legend. It is an honor rendered Masewa in order to be lucky in hunting. The figure of Masewa used as Kopershtaia or amulet carries this sign ⧖ on the chest (fig. 32).

[In the Peabody Museum in Cambridge there is a similar image collected by Cushing at Zuñi. The sign is a cross. Among the Hopi, the two parallel lines have been repeatedly noted by Fewkes as a war god sign. The cross or hour glass is painted on the *chakwena* of Laguna and Zuñi. At Zuñi it is interpreted as a bow sign. Painted on the bodies of the war gods of the Navajo it has been interpreted as a queue sign (W. Matthews, "The Night Chant, a Navajo Ceremony," p. 23. *Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. VI (1902)). The *masewa-chakwena* impersonation of Laguna not only has the sign painted on his body, but together with his brother he wears a kind of double bandolier crossed on his chest quite in accordance with Father Dumarest's suggestion.]

[3] Cp. "Jicarilla Apache Texts," pp. 197–8; "Myths of the Jicarilla Apache," p. 257; R. H. Lowie, "The Test Theme in North American Mythology," *Journal, American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXI (1908), p. 120.

said to us that he ate people; here we are alive, together with what is needed to make good arrows, and with much meat."

Another day Masewa and Oyoyawa said to their mother, "Mother, who is our father? We want to know him." The mother exclaimed, "What a child! How he wars against me! Your father lives very far to the east, very far from here." "How long does it take to go there?" "Four days." Masewa said, "That is nothing, we are going there. Mother, prepare some provisions for us." Finally the mother consented. They walked for a long time. Having arrived at the dwelling of Sun, their father—it was blue and its portico was a rainbow—the inhabitants of the east asked them, "Where are you going?" "We are come here to see our father, Sun." "But you are not his sons; you do not resemble him." "Yes, we are his sons." As Sun was far from having finished his daily task, the *principales* held a meeting and decided to prepare a great pyre, to light it and to put the two children upon it; for, said they, "if they are the sons of Sun they will come out safe and sound, while if they lie, they will be justly punished." Thus it was done. The two children were thrown upon the funeral-pile. They came out safe and sound. Nevertheless the wife of Sun was not satisfied. Her jealousy prompted her to demand another proof of whether or not her husband had deceived her. There were four rooms in which were confined lions, white bears, wolves and badgers. She said to the *principales* that she would not recognize these children as the sons of her husband before they had confined them in the four rooms successively. They told Masewa and Oyoyawa of the test they were going to subject them. Masewa began to laugh. The *principales* opened the door of the north and threw them in with the lions, then closed the door. After some time the *principales* and the wife of Sun said, "They are surely dead." They opened and saw the two brothers playing with the lions and using them as mounts. They shut them in at the west with the white bears. They opened the door after a certain time. Masewa and Oyoyawa were playing with the white bears and using them as mounts. They shut them up with the wolves of the south and the badgers of the north; these animals

did them no harm. Then the *principales* said: "Yes, these children are indeed the sons of *oshratsha* (Sun). Already it was dark. They waited for Sun at the meeting hall. When he entered, the *principales* began to laugh and to make fun of him. *Osaiha* (Liar and dirty one)! You said that you were faithful to your wife, and here are two children who have come saying they are your sons. They are indeed your sons; for we have thrown them upon a pyre and they came out of the flames safe and sound; we shut them in with the lions, the bears, the wolves and the badgers, and they played with them. O, what an *oshratsha!* What a dirty one!" Sun laughed also. He said: "Do you not know that I have to visit the whole world and that I know everybody? But I am faithful to my wife." His wife made the same remonstrances to him. He made her the same answer, but added: "Why did you not make them come into my house?" Then he asked, "Where are they?" They made them come in. "Yes," said he, "these are my sons." And the children said, "Father, we greatly wished to know you and we have come to see you." "It is well, my sons; I am indeed glad to see you." He made them come into his palace, and his wife received them as her own sons.[1]

The next day Masewa said to Sun: "Father, I want to help in your work." Sun said, "That is well." Then he delivered to him the solar disc, indicated to him the line he should follow. He said to him, "When you have arrived at the middle of the earth, eat, but stop only for a few moments. Then when you have arrived at the west you will see much water. Perhaps you will be afraid to plunge into it. But fear nothing, plunge without hesitating." Masewa said, "No, no, I shall not be afraid." Up to the evening he acquitted himself of his task with success. But when the moment came for him to plunge into the water, the *principales* laughed greatly to see the sun half disappear below the horizon, then draw back, then sink, then draw back. Sun was obliged to take another solar disc and go to the succor of his son. He went off into space and arrived near Masewa, he submerged him abruptly

[1] Cp. "The Sia," pp. 43–4. "Myths and Tales of the San Carlos Apache," pp. 9–10; "Myths and Tales of the White Mountain Apache," pp. 96–7, 117, 122.

and he followed him into the water. When father and son came back to their house in the east, the *principales* laughed and asked Masewa: "Well, how did the voyage go?" "It must be confessed," said Masewa, "that I had great fear of sinking into the water." "What," said his brother to him, "you who were afraid of nothing when you were little, you are afraid now that you are big? Tomorrow I shall go to help our father," said Oyoyawa. "You will be afraid," said Sun. Oyoyawa made no reply. Early in the morning he departed, and at evening he went into the water without hesitating. Upon his return he received the compliments of his father and the *principales*. Not to be behind hand, Masewa wanted again to help his father the following day; this time he had the same success as his brother. At last they said, "We must return to our mother."

Sun gave them a quiver made of lion hide, arrows, and a hunting-stick.[1] He said to them, "Do not make use of the hunting-stick until you are far from the pueblo. It has great force." Masewa, on going out from the pueblo, wanted greatly to try the hunting-stick, but Oyoyawa prevented him. When they were far away, Masewa said, "Now we can use the stick." He came back from the east and went to the slope of the mountains of Bernalillo, where his mother was waiting for him. Before him rose a high mountain. He threw the hunting-stick. It knocked down the mountain and came back to him. Thus was formed the plain which separates the range of Santa Fé from that of Bernalillo. A little further on Oyoyawa too tried his weapon. He too laid low a mountain.[2]

Upon their return near the lake they met a man of gigantic size. He was guarding the lake. He said, "How are you, Masewa? How are you, Oyoyawa? Where are you going?" "Here. We are dying of thirst and wish to drink." "That cannot be." "Then we are going to fight you," said Masewa. The giant took them in his hands and said to them: "Poor little ones, what can you do to me?" Masewa and Oyoyawa thought that he was going to eat them,

[1] This kind of stick is terminated by a large knob. It is used to kill jackrabbits and rabbits in hunting on horseback.

[2] Cp. "The Sia," p. 44; (Zuñi) Parsons, in ms.; "Jicarilla Apache Texts," p. 196.

but he set them back upon the ground. Then Masewa took the hunting-stick and threw it at the giant, cutting him crosswise in two. But the trunk and the legs soon joined together again and he rose up. Once more Masewa threw the hunting-stick at him, cutting him apart as before, and the two brothers closed in. With all his strength Masewa held on to the head and trunk, and Oyoyawa to the legs. In this way they prevented the two parts from reuniting, and the giant died.[1] Then Masewa and Oyoyawa drank their fill. They returned to their mother and recounted their exploits. They added: "We must now go and kill another giant." As usual, their mother objected, but she let them go.

As they drew near a wood, a giantess said to them, "Where are you going?" "We are taking a walk." "Do you want to come and see my house?" "Yes," said Masewa. The giantess carried a sort of basket on her back. She put them into it. She arrived within the wood. Masewa and Oyoyawa felt uneasy, and they said, "She is going to eat us." Masewa asked her for some of the grass which children chew, then for stones to crush it with. She gave them what they wanted. Masewa said, "These stones are not good; give me some larger stones." The giantess gave him some. He asked for more, first in one way, then in another, until he had got a big load in the basket where he was with his brother. The giantess kept saying to them, "Do not sleep; you are to heavy when you sleep." As they passed under a pine tree Masewa and Oyoyawa took hold of a branch and mounted to the top of the tree. The giantess took no notice. But at last, seeing that her questions received no reply, she misdoubted something, set her basket on the ground and was very angry to see the way in which she had been tricked by the children. She retraced her steps, and after walking for a long time, she saw the two children at the top of the pine. She said, "Now I am not going to forgive them, I will eat them for my breakfast." She took Masewa and Oyoyawa and said to them, "Why have you played this farce on me? Nobody has ever mocked me like you." They replied, "We found it very pleasant there and so we stayed there." The giantess arrived at her lodging. She said

[1] Cp. "The Sia," p. 45.

to the children who told her that they were hungry and wanted to eat, "Very well, go find me plenty of wood and I will give you something to eat." The children obeyed. The giantess made a bonfire of the wood; then she opened a room filled with human corpses. She took a head already rotten and began to eat it; then she gave one to the children who did not want it. "How filthy to eat rotten corpses! We do not eat such things." The giantess said to them, "It is my food. Tomorrow I shall have a better breakfast, because I am going to cook you on the wood you brought me, and eat you to punish you for the farce you played on me." Masewa answered, "Your breakfast will certainly be good, for we are but children and our meat will be tender." She took the two children and threw them into the bonfire. As they were sons of the Sun they did not burn. During the night they put filth in their place and went to hide themselves, in a room next to that where the giantess slept in large earthern bowls. The next day, while the giantess was taking the excrement to be the children and breakfasting, Masewa cried out from the interior of the bowl, "Look at the dirty giantess! See what she makes her breakfast of!" The giantess, without knowing who spoke, said, "It is not true. I am eating Masewa and Oyoyawa. The mocking recommenced until she grew tired of it and, believing that the bowls spoke, she hit them a stroke with a stick. Masewa and Oyoyawa came out, making fun of the giantess. She again made a big bonfire, all the while wondering how the children had escaped. She called upon them to help her. They did this with good grace; they even helped her to light the bonfire, and while the giantess blew the fire so that it should catch well in several places at once, the children said to her, "Here it is not well lit; come and blow." While the giantess was very busy at this task, together Masewa and Oyoyawa pushed her into the bonfire, where she died.[1]

They went to their mother to tell her that the giants had been destroyed, and how. The mother found it hard to believe in the

[1] Cp. "The Sia," pp. 48–50; (Laguna) Boas, in ms.; E. L. Handy, "Zuñi Tales," *Journal, American Folk-lore*, vol. XXXI (1918), pp. 462–3; (Isleta) *Pueblo Indian Folk Stories*, pp. 209–12.

audacity of her children. The weather had been very dry for a long time. The earth was white; the deer, the buffalo and all the animals were dying of thirst. Masewa said, "Mother, where do the *shiwanna* live? We want to know why they give no rain." "But, my child, they live very far away in the west. Do not risk misfortune from going in that direction." They insisted, so their mother let them go. They walked for a long time to the west. They arrived at a place where there was a great hole and they heard the songs of the *shiwanna*. Masewa said then to his brother, "This hole seems very deep. Nevertheless I wish to go down into it. If you see that I do not return quickly, that is a bad sign. Do not throw yourself in." Masewa then threw himself into the void. For a long while he remained stunned from his fall. Oyoyawa lost patience at not seeing his brother come back and said to himself, "After all, it matters little whether I die if my brother be dead. I want to go down also into the hole." Masewa came to himself when he heard the fall of his brother, who was also stunned for a long time. When Oyoyawa began to complain, Masewa said to him: "Why did you come? I had plainly said to you not to come if I did not return quickly." They went to look about the place, which seemed to them very pretty. Masewa said, "I am no longer surprised that the *shiwanna* do not come to visit our earth. It is a fact that they have a better place here." The *shiwanna* were about to dance, out of sight of the children. The *heruta*, their chief and courier, was asleep. Masewa and Oyoyawa went into an estufa and each put on one of the masks of the *shiwanna* and took a sheaf of lightnings. When it came to going up again, Oyoyawa said, "How shall we go?" Masewa answered, "If the *shiwanna* go hence, we can go too, for we are *shiwanna*." Then Masewa unbound the lightning which he held with a firm hand. There arose a great noise in *wenima*. But Masewa was out of reach. Almost at the same time Oyoyawa worked the same stratagem, and together they regained the dwelling of their mother, all the while launching the lightning, which, after making a noise, returned to their hands. Rain began to fall abundantly. Their mother, on receiving them, saw what had taken place and felt great fear. A little while after,

the *shiwanna* arrived. They asked the twins, "What have you done?" "We have taken the masks and the lightnings to make it rain, because you never come to make it rain. Why are you *shiwanna* and yet never come? Your office is to make it rain and you do not fulfill it. We have wished to fulfill the duty which you do not accomplish." The *shiwanna* were not vexed. They said, "It is well; now you are one of ourselves, keep the masks and the lightning." And they went away.[1]

Masewa and Oyoyawa said sometime after to their mother: "We must go now where there are people in order to establish the *shiwanna*."[2] The Mother did not oppose this, for the plan appeared good to her. They then went away to the side of the north, and established the *shiwanna*.[3] Their mother did not grieve over their absence, knowing that they were gone for a good end and that they would accomplish it. When they died, they went to *shipapu* to guard Uretsete, with whom they remained and with whom they still are today.[4]

Why Scarabaeus Has No Eyes

Uretsete wanted to make stars. She took cornmeal dough, made some cakes and cooked them. They would not shine. She consulted Spider, the Creator.[5] Spider said, "Make some more cakes, do not cook them, put them in the ashes, that will have life."

[1] Cp. "The Sia," p. 52; (Isleta) *Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories*, pp. 212–13; *Zuñi Folk-Tales*, pp. 175 ff.; "Zuñi Tales," p. 462; (Laguna) Boas, in ms.—Ed.

[2] In Zuñi myth, the twins do not institute the *kotikyane*, *i. e.*, the *shiwanna* organization, but they are initiated into it.—Ed.

[3] As the dances of the *shiwanna* were rather monotonous, Masewa and Oyoyawa instituted the society of the *koshare*. Their rôle was to amuse the people.

[4] In another note the author records the tradition that the twins live in the Sandia Mountains (cp. "The Sia," p. 57) at *koateshruma*.—Ed.

[5] [Among the Sia, Spider, *sussistinnako*, is referred to as creator. There are but casual references to Spider by Father Dumarest. In one much abbreviated note he writes:] Naotsete and Uretsete were sad. They lived with Spider Woman, their mother, at *shipapu*, under the waters of the lake, in the second world. Spider made mosquitos. Naotsete and Uretsete asked, "How may we produce children?" Spider said, "Go to sleep early tonight." The mosquitos (or bumble-bees) came in. The next day Naotsete and Uretsete were pregnant. After four days they asked Spider if the son of Uretsete and the daughter of Naotsete might marry, because it was hard work to produce children. Spider agreed and the world was peopled.

Uretsete entrusted the stars in a sack to scarabaeus (*ishitse*). He had two eyes which shone like stars. The Mother ordered him not to look into the sack. When he disobeyed and opened the sack, the stars vanished together with his eyes. Overcome, the poor scarabaeus was scratching the ground, when a guard of Uretsete took him away to *shipapu* where he confessed. Uretsete said to him, "You have done a great wrong," and punished him with blindness. She gave him two horns to feel his way with.[1]

Montezuma

There was a very ugly little orphan girl who neglected to keep herself clean; but she was virtuous. One day, when the people of her town went for piñon nuts, the girl conceived from eating a piñon nut.[2] She bore a son. In four days he could walk and he had reached the age of reason. When the people of the pueblo[3] went hunting, the boy wanted to go. His mother said, "No, you will get lost. The people do not want you." Nevertheless, he made himself a bow and arrow and went hunting; but as none would teach him about hunting or about game, he made himself a nuisance with his questions and his heedlessness. For example, one day he mistook a man kneeling at a burrow pulling out a rabbit for the rabbit itself. This mistake turned everybody against him. Finally, however, after the people had seen him returning several times with game bound with yucca, they agreed to take him along. He made himself a flute and he proclaimed that he was going to give meat to the pueblo. He set to playing the flute on top of a house. All the animals came. The people had only to kill them.[4] They

[1] Cp. "The Sia," p. 37.

[2] In a variant, the girl was given a piñon nut by a very small child. On her return home, she was bitterly reproached by her parents because of her already advanced pregnancy.

[3] According to one version, Montezuma was born at Pajarito, a journey of a day and a half from tyuoni; according to another version, he was born in Mexico.

[4] Cp. "The Sia," pp. 59, 63–5. Montezuma is to be identified with *poshaiyanki*. The greater part of the myth, if not the whole of it, is a Christ myth. (See "Nativity Myth at Laguna and Zuñi," pp. 261–3; Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, 310–311. Among the Papago, Dr. Mason has recently recorded a myth about Montezuma who returns to life after his people kill him, and who frees them from a cannibalistic giantess and a man-eating bird—a singular mixture of Christ and war god myths.

recognized him as *kopershtaia*. They paraded him in the streets. The *principales* went alongside as if for a saint. They had staffs of bone. The people prostrated themselves as he passed.

Montezuma made a house where none could find him, because he had enemies, and where he could deliberate on what he had to do. He had to reform the unmarried mothers. He made a serpent like a fish with wings. It would go into a house and throw itself upon the mother and child as if to devour them. It lived in a lake where it became very large. Instead of merely frightening the mothers and children, it ended by devouring them. Montezuma had to confine the serpent to the lake forever.

Meanwhile Montezuma continued his miracles. He always carried with him a little bowl (*waershte*) which he lifted up to the sky when water lacked. When he lowered the bowl, every one could see that it was filled with water. His food was different from that of men; it was that of the *kopershtaia*. It was corn pollen and wild honey (*tsirshteni*)[1] mixed together. With what was left of it his followers could feed themselves without fear of not having enough.

Montezuma spoke all languages. He spent his time in making known his divine mission by working miracles in the different tribes. Within a short space he assigned to the peoples—at that time all were nomads—the places where they were to build towns and he gave them the form of government they have today.

Malinche, the wife of Montezuma, had the same power of working miracles.[2] Once, when she was in California, the guest of a Mexican while Montezuma was visiting Mexico, she wished to recompense her hostess for her kindness. She gave the woman a roll of paper bread, saying to her, "Here, I am poor, but I wish to recompense you according to my means." The Mexican wrapped the bread in her shawl and on her return home was greatly surprised to find instead of wafers of bread, wafers of gold.

[1] The Hopi offer honey in the corn husk package attached to the prayer-stick. At Zuñi if any one find a beehive he will give the honey to a member of some curing society for medicine.—Ed.

[2] In the Scalp dance she is represented by a woman, the only woman in the dance, wearing parrot feathers on her head and in a boa on her shoulders. (*Les Indiens du Nouveau-Mexique*, pp. 5–6.)—Ed.

In the end Montezuma said he was going with the Malinche to the east. They were to await him with shell every morning at sunrise.

[In another account the author states that it is believed that Montezuma was killed in Mexico.] From the roof of the prison where he had been placed by the Spaniards, he had begun to refute the charges brought against him and to prove to his doubting followers that his imprisonment was but for a time, when he was killed by a stone thrown at his forehead by one of his own race. One day he is to reappear in the world and to deliver his people from the yoke of their conquerors. Until this deliverance people believe that, in accordance with the counsel of Montezuma,[1] they should keep their distance from the Whites, surrounding their cult with mystery and, as far as possible, resist innovation.

Belief in the return of Montezuma is no longer held to by the younger people, but the belief appears in the practice of the old men who sprinkle meal for him towards the east, the direction from which he is to return, as well as in the following story. Last year an *alguazil* of Santo Domingo came to my house in great haste. "Father, come quickly," he said, "Someone wants to confer with you at the pueblo." I could learn nothing more[2]; but, driven by curiosity, I had my horse saddled and I rode to the pueblo. There two chairs were handsomely bespread. One of the chairs was for me, the other for Montezuma. The prophet soon appeared. He was an aged Mexican, dressed in rags; one shoe different from the other, and on his head a crown of whitened iron that some joker had made for the poor fool. In his hand he carried a bag stuffed with papers to which he pompously drew my attention. It was a collection of witticisms recognizing his majesty as lord over different territories. The poor fool wished me to advise the people of my district of his rights. Finally we were both escorted to a repast. I had no difficulty about keeping my face, as the folly of the one and the stupidity of the others alike inspired pity. At

[1] It was also at his direction that the mines that were worked before the coming of the Spaniards were closed up and carefully covered with soil and stones.

[2] It is characteristic of Pueblo Indian messengers not to enter into particulars. They merely deliver a summons.—ED.

the close of the meal, great was my surprise when the governor, an old man, and one of the most intelligent Indians I ever met[1] came to me and asked me seriously if the papers I had read were convincing and if the fool was really a king.

KOTONA[2]

When the people came out of *shipapu*, after they arrived at the White House (*kashia katritshi* [*katshreute*])[3] in a place called *kometse shruma mokaira kaetishra* (old house of the recumbent lion) they had reason to move away and go to the Potrero de las Casas. The father and mother of two children left them behind asleep in a cave. The elder child did not know what to do because her younger sister wept for her parents. She consoled her as best she could, saying to her, "Do not weep; our parents will come back." She visited all the caves and houses to see if there was anyone there; but everything was closed, the doors and windows with leather. Then she returned and noticed that in the wall of the house where they were, in the hole which serves for the placing of the *kopershtaia*, there was a *kotona*. This ear of corn spoke to her and said, "Handle me with great care, because if you let me fall and a grain comes out of me, I shall not be able to speak any more. Why do you weep?" "Because my parents have left me alone with my sister and I do not know where they are." "*Mako* (be still), poor little one. Take me carefully, place me in your bosom and I will show you where they are." She took the *kotona*, placed it in her bosom, and set her younger sister upon her shoulders. The *kotona* said to her when she went out, "Look at those turkeys which the people left upon going away. Those there are your family's, they will lead you to the place where your parents are. Follow them." Thus did she. They came to a spring. The younger girl was thirsty. The elder leaned over to see if there was any water among the rocks. The *kotona* fell out of her bosom and struck upon a stone. A grain dropped out of the *kotona*. Thereupon from a crack there came

[1] Of completely civilized Indians I have known but five.

[2] The author opines that this tale gave birth to the belief in the supernatural power of the *kotona*.—ED.

[3] Identified with Rito de los Frijoles. See p. 187.

out a shrew-mouse (*keioshro*) (or spider) which had heard the crying of the two sisters and said to them, "Why do you weep, my children?" "Because we have lost a grain of our mother *kotona*; we have killed her; she no longer speaks." "Do not weep, my daughters, I am going to send my family to find this grain of the *kotona*. They will find it and give it back to you, my daughters." The shrew first ordered one of her sons to bring a drink to the younger child. He went off and brought back in his mouth an acorn cup. The two children began to cry, but the shrew said, "Do not cry, but drink." And the younger drank. The little cup did not get empty all the time she drank. The elder drank also; the little cup did not dry up. The shrew ordered her sons to search in the cracks of the rock for the lost grain. They found it and one of them brought it in his mouth. They gave it to her; when the young girl had it, she put it into place. *Kotona* began again to talk. "I told you to take care of me, to treat me with care so that no grain should fall out of me. Another time take me in your bosom and do not let me fall. If you let me fall again, we are lost." When she had taken *kotona* into her bosom again, *kotona* said, "Now then, my daughter, let us walk." A little way along the road a bear came out. *Kotona* said, "Take this bear with you in order that he may keep you company with the turkeys. Now, my daughters, walk along one side of the path, so that the turkeys and the bear can also leave their tracks on the stone. Some day your father and mother will see your tracks, and the tracks of the turkeys and the bear. Let us see what they will say upon seeing the tracks of you whom they abandoned."[1] They began again to walk. They soon saw on the horizon the Potrero de la Cañada. "See, my daughters; on that *potrero* are your father and mother. They and their companions have already formed a town. It is there that they live. But no, they are gone to Jemez, to see the dance of Flowing Hair (*Cabellera*)[2] Let us not go to the *potrero*,

[1] One can see the tracks of a child, of turkeys, and of a bear to the north of the Cañada de Cochiti.

[2] Possibly the dance which is said to correspond at Jemez to the *upikaiupona* (a variant of the *kokokshi*) of Zuñi. The flowing hair, in the Zuñi dance, is an essential feature. According to a Jemez informant in Zuñi, there are but few masked dances at

but to Jemez." They continued to advance. Arrived at Jemez, the *kotona* said, "Here is the house where your father and mother are. But do not enter at once; place yourselves at the foot of the ladder where they throw out the sweepings of the house. Do not answer when your parents invite you to enter. Be stubborn, be stubborn until the masters of the house give you an invitation."

The parents of the young girls said to them, "Come near, our children, enter." They answered, "No, here we are in our place. You have considered us sweepings and with the sweepings we remain." But when the master of the house spoke to them they said, "With you, yes, we will stay. Only we have with us our family which is very untidy; it will be well to put a roost in the house for them to sleep on, for they are very untidy." A roost was placed, and the two girls went in to eat and sleep. But their parents were so ashamed, that they withdrew to another place and did not stay to see the dance of Flowing Hair.[1]

Hide and Seek.[2]

A woman who was called Kotshatosha and Masewa and Oyoyawa were hiding themselves. Kotshatosha waited. Oyoyawa went north all alone to hide himself. There was a deer lying down. He hid himself under the deer. Then the woman said: "You who have gone to the north, you have placed yourself under a deer. Come here." Then he came. She went to the west to hide herself. She found a rabbit and she entered it through the mouth. Then Masewa said: "You who went to the west and entered the mouth of a rabbit, come back here." Then Masewa hid himself in his turn in the *chongo* (queue) of the woman. He turned into a louse. Then Kotshatosha said: "You who went below where this is, come here." Nothing came. "You who fled to (?) , come and be caught." "You who went to the north come here, you placed yourself below, come." Nothing came.

Jemez compared with Zuñi and he mentioned *upikaiupona*, *chakwena*, *hemishikwe*, *wotemla* (?).—Ed.

[1] Cp. "Notes on Zuñi," pt. II, 316 ff.—Ed.

[2] Cp. H. R. Voth, *The Traditions of the Hopi*, no. 37, *Field Columbian Museum Publications*, 96 (1905); (Isleta) *Pueblo Indian Folk Stories*, pp. 89–97.

Then Masewa won. Then this woman asked them to let her hide once more. If they found her she would lose. She hid again, she flew up and covered the sun with her queue. They could not find the woman. Masewa admitted it. Oyoyawa pulled a white feather from the eagle, blew it on high and said that wherever it went the woman would be found. Then they found her. He took another feather, which he held in his hand, and let it fly away. It went to the north. It is there that the *shiwanna* were confined. They brought them to the pueblo.

Bear Girls

When the pueblo of Cochiti was made, a hunter was at Peralta to hunt at sunset. When he wanted to return he found it very late. In passing by the place called Barrancos Blancos, White Cliffs, he turned to the north and saw a light in the middle of the cliffs, and said to himself: "Who can live down there? I am going to see if I can sleep there; it is very dark and I cannot reach Cochiti." When he reached the foot of the cliffs, he saw that the light was very high up and that he could not get to it. But he heard a woman's voice which called to him from above: "Come, young man." "How can I? It is very high." "I will take you up." "How?" A young girl came down. "Come here upon my back; take good hold of me and close your eyes." He did so, and in a moment found himself in the cave from which the light showed. The young girl then said to him, "Now open your eyes." He saw that he was in a room in the company of two young girls, she who had carried him up and another girl, her younger sister. The younger sister had been the first to see the hunter. She said to her sister, "Look at this handsome young man. I am going to bring him here to live with him." The elder leaned over and saw that it was true and said to the younger, "No, it is to me that he belongs, because I am the elder." The girls were very well dressed; they wore *mantas* or robes of cotton; collars of green and white turquoise; bracelets and rings of silver. The young man said to them, "What beautiful persons you are," and he thought of marriage. Then the elder said to him, "Fear nothing here; we are good people and

you shall sleep this night in our house. When our father and mother come, fear not, for they are not bad." Well on in the morning he heard two bears come. The elder of the young girls, seeing his fright, said to him, "Fear not. These who come from Cochiti are my father, my mother, and their companions. They went there to cure a sick person who had invoked the help of the bears." But in spite of this the young man was afraid, because these animals came in making much noise, the same as the *chaiani* make when they cure. There were cries of bears, of birds, weeping, etc. They who came in moaning were very sad because certain officials of Cochiti had not accomplished their task of curing like men, *i. e.*, courageously, without being afraid at the moment of vomiting the *pakana*, the serpents, bits of glass, thorns, etc., which they are supposed to draw from the body of the invalid. Others came in very well satisfied, whistling and shouting, because some of the officials of Cochiti had accomplished their task with satisfaction and valor. Then came the father, who made much noise in climbing up. The daughters hid the young man under a buffalo hide.

He saw that the bear stopped at the door with a load of meal, of beans, wafer bread, etc. (Compare the recompense which the *chaiani* receive). The bear threw himself into a rage, he gnashed his teeth and his hair bristled. The young man went into the store-room. When the mother arrived, the young man saw her too throw herself into a rage. But she said nothing. After a little while the bears divested themselves of their bear skins and the young man saw that they were people. Then the father became angry with the two girls and said to them: "What daughters! I believe you have done a very great wrong. You have deceived him. But there is no longer any remedy. What is done is done." Then the younger replied, "It was not I, my father, it was my elder sister who brought him up here." "Rise, young man," said the bear, "fear not. There is no cure for a wrong already committed. They have deceived you. Now I am going to give you some advice. I cannot do anything else. You are going to have two sons. Tomorrow go home to Cochiti and when the time arrives for sowing, sow some corn for each of your sons. Tend well the field; when the

corn is good the two children and their mother will come to eat, during every night, the fruit of your labor. On the following days the people of Cochiti (remember well what I say to you) will give warning that three bears have been in your cornfield. I recommend to you not to go out to hunt bears, because you will be the first that the bears will take. They will open your chest and tear out your heart; then you will remain here and will live with us always. But if you do not disturb yourself at the news that the bears have come into your field, nothing bad will ever happen to you and you will live on among your own people." . . . When this young man heard the news that the three bears had come into his cornfield, he was the first one to go there. The bears seized him and carried him off. They did nothing to the bears. The young man remained at Barrancos Blancos, and lived with the bears as if he belonged to their race.

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PENOBSCOT SHAMANISM

BY

FRANK G. SPECK

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PENOBSCOT SHAMANISM

By FRANK G. SPECK

Introduction

THE only feasible way to deal with Penobscot shamanism, which is at bottom not a very complex matter either in theory or in practice, is to discuss the facts, few as they be, that fell under observation while investigating the northeastern tribes, and to present the shamanistic lore in mythology as well as that now current among the Indians.

Concerning our sources, it should be borne in mind at the beginning that most of the Indians of this part of the country still believe more or less in the power of sorcery and witchcraft.[1] Plenty of them also tell of living people whom they have heard are shamans, but those who are thus reported are from remote districts and are known mostly by hearsay. The nearer one comes to the home of a reputed man of magic, the less one hears of him, while in his own village nowadays he is generally denied. This, of course, applies only to the Penobscot. I knew of only one person living at the time of my earlier residence in the village who could in any way be regarded as a shaman and he was esteemed only as a stupid liar in his home village on Indian Island. I shall subsequently give all the information that I can concerning him. The best of our data is, in short, traditional.

Much has to be drawn directly from those exhaustless sources of information on all subjects of early life, the myths. I have consequently used the texts of myths, both in Penobscot and in English, for reference. A few which bear especially upon shamanism have been included in the paper in their original form. And

[1] Professor J. D. Prince, "Some Passamaquoddy Witchcraft Tales," *Proceedings, American Philosophical Society*, no. 160, p. 181, and C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 8, have both remarked in this respect concerning the neighboring tribes.

next, the knowledge and memory of Newell Lyon have been employed on the subject.

A matter all important in any study of the practices of religion or, as we might preferably speak of it, the employment of supernatural power or magic, is the term, in Penobscot, *ktaha'n·do*[1], which has the meaning of "*great manitu.*" The element *-han·do* here appears as the cognate of *manitu* in the Central Algonkian dialects. Its usage in the texts is also similar; the most careful interpreters rendering it as "great magic." It is used generally as an adjective qualifying animate beings and inanimate objects, too, when these are in some way the means of conjury or magical practice.[2] So far Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and Malecite coincide as regards this term and its significance. In the writer's Penobscot material there is not any instance of its use to denote an independent abstract idea, so we are at a loss how to approach a definition of the concept. As an adjective, it seems to mean mysterious, magical, powerful, miraculous, enabling things to be done supernaturally.

The power of *ktaha'n·do* appears as a source of dynamics which empowers not only the out-and-out mythical personalities but semi-professional magicians even down to the present times. In this it is a conception which, though wanting in definition, becomes functionally similar to the manitu concept discussed by Wm. Jones among the Central Algonkian[3].

MƎDE'OLINU

The Penobscot shaman is denoted by the term *mədə'olinu*. Opinion seems to be settled on the derivation of the first part of

[1] Malecite and Passamaquoddy *ktahánt* is the corresponding term, Micmac *buówin*.

[2] Illustrations of the use of the term are *ktahán·dwi·áləmus* "great magical dog," *ktahán·dwi·nαgʷzu* "great magic appearing," *madjahán·do* "evil power," "Devil." *elhán·do* "so magical." *nəgátc wéwiłe tan udoł'hán·dowin* "Then you will know how powerful his magic is." *Man·doa·'mekʷ* "Spirit (Devil) fish" Penobscot proper name; *auhan·dosi·s* "little devil," the generic name for insects, *gi·nhán·do* "great (monstrous) magician," *ndalidəhαdámes·in al'han·dówαŋgan*, "I think I feel myself to have equal magic."

[3] Cf. also A. B. Skinner, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXVIII, no. 109, p. 261, (1915) for Menomini equivalent, "A god, the supernatural power imparted by a god, or the seat of this supernatural power." For Jones, see *ibid.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 183–190.

the term (*mǝde-*) from "sound of drumming."[1] While the consciousness of such a derivation is altogether lost in the modern native linguistic knowledge, some confirmation for it may be found in the use of the elements of the term. The translation "drum sound person" suggests itself as an equivalent.[2] The term is simply known as the equivalent of sorcerer, witch, magician, although by analogy from what we know of shamans in the neighboring regions, it may be concluded that part of the shaman's power was thought to lie in his drum. In later literature, however, little or no mention is made of the shaman's drum and this is true even in the myths.

Drums are nevertheless mentioned by the early missionaries as being the property of shamans.[2] The missionaries themselves may have been responsible for the decline of drum-sorcery in later times. We have one specific reference to drum-magic in Passamaquoddy by Professor Prince, who gives the text of a witch song.[3]

[1] J. D. Prince, "Some Passamaquoddy Witchcraft Tales," *Proceedings of American Philosophical Society*, No. 160 (1899), p. 186, comments on the term by saying *m'déaulin* wizard appears in old Delaware as *mete'u* "one who drums," *e.g.*, a witch doctor, referring to the practice of the medicine men of beating drums to drive away evil spirits. Thus Delaware *meteohet* is a drum or any hollow body. In modern Delaware *meteu* denotes a turkey-cock, which drums with its wings (Anthony in Brinton Lenape Legends, p. 83). Cf. Ojibwa *medē'ᵓwin* "sorcery" and *tewe'ige* "he beats a drum." In another paper Professor Prince says the Passamaquoddy *m'deolinwuk* are "drum beaters" from their methods of exorcism.

In Penobscot the term for drum is *pɑkhola'ŋgan*, "that which is hollow struck with a stick," Malecite *pǝgǝholágen*, Montagnais *téwe'hi'gan*, Micmac *dji'gǝmá'gan* (also *bepkwejedaak*, see Rand Dictionary, p. 92). In the various dialects *mǝde-* denotes "sound" or "noise," Micmac *mide'du* (See also S. T. Rand, *Micmac Dictionary*, p. 245) while in Penobscot and Malecite *mǝdé-* denotes "the noise of something," for instance *mǝdedónke* "the sound of talking," *mǝdéoˢs'e* "the sound of walking," (Malecite) *mǝdébǝgǝhòlu* "the sound of drumming," *mǝdégan*ˢ "the sound of dancing." It seems that *-ol-* in the term *mǝdéolinu* is the element denoting something hollow, as *n'bagǝhólɑn* "I drum." The final element *-inu* is the Penobscot form of the common Algonkian term for "person." While in Penobscot complexes the *ǝln-*, *aln-* occur (*alnɑbe* "Indian person") the usual final form in words of this character is *-inu* (*pmáuzowi'no* "living person," *noˢpeoˢsáwino* "warrior," etc.) which makes it more probable that the element *-ol-* in *mǝdéolinu* is to be explained as above.

[2] "Relation of Father Drouillets" (1647), *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites edition), (vol. XXXI, pp. 193–197).

[3] J. D. Prince, "Notes on Passamaquoddy Literature," *Annals, New York Academy of Sciences*, vol. XIII, no. 4, p. 385. "I sit down and beat the drum, and by the sound

Several specimens of drums have been produced by the Penobscot showing that one type of instrument, at least, resembles in general construction the drums of the tribes north of the St. Lawrence and having the snare string across the head. One of these specimens, 25 cm. in breadth by 90 mm. in thickness, has a head of green deerskin stretched over the hoop of wood. The skin heads are laced irregularly with babiche. A wrapped handle of rawhide is fastened on one side across one face, two strings of babiche (rawhide) are strung to act as snares, while around the opposite side is a row of babiche strings tied so as to represent fringe. The drum-stick is a simple affair of cedar (arbor vitæ) 25 cm. long. The presence of the snare here is interesting, since it is a feature of the drums of Algonkian tribes northward through Labrador.[1] The Penobscot regard the buzzing noise made by the snare as a kind of "singing."

As will be noted in the footnote references, the characteristics of Penobscot shamanism are shared alike by the Abenaki, Wawenock, Malecite, and Passamaquoddy, even in respect to the terms involved.[2] The characteristics, too, are the same in the case of the related Micmac, though here we have a different term designating the shaman.[3] On the whole there is great uniformity in the

of the drum I call the animals from the mountains. Even the great storms harken to the sound of my drum. I sit down and beat the drum and the storm and thunder answer the sound of my drum. The great whirlwind ceases its raging to listen to the sound of my drum. I sit down and beat the drum and the spirit of the night air comes and listens to the sound of my drum. Even the great Wuchowsin will cease moving his wings to harken to the sound of my drum. I sit down and beat the drum and the spirit under the water comes to the surface and listens to the sound of my drum, and the wood spirit will cease chopping and harken to the sound of my drum. I sit down and beat the drum and the great Appodumken will come out of the deep and harken to the sound of my drum. The lightning, thunder, storms, gales, forest spirit, whirlwind, water spirit and spirit of the night air are gathered together and are listening to the sound of my drum."

[1] Specimens collected by the writer from the Montagnais and Naskapi of Southern Labrador for the Museum of the Geological Survey of Canada, the Museum of the American Indian, and the American Museum of Natural History. Cf. also L. Turner, "Ethnology of the Ungava District," *Eleventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 324–5.

[2] Abenaki (St. Francis) *mədaulinú* and Wawenock, *mədeolenú*, Malecite and Passamaquoddy *m'dêulin'*.

[3] Micmac *buówin*. Cf. also "Bouhinne," Leclerq" New Relation of Gaspesia" (Paris, 1691), *Edition of Champlain Society*, Toronto, by W. F. Ganong, 1910, pp.

shamanistic practices of the entire northeast. In the collections of tales, both in the native dialects and in English, which I have made from the different branches of the Wabanaki group, are some tales concerning shamanism proper. For arbitrary reasons place has been made for some of these in this body of material which is otherwise exclusively Penobscot. They supplement the testimony of the footnotes showing that, despite local differences, the body of material in the whole area is practically an idea unit. The Penobscot shaman seems to have been purely a wonder worker whose magic power was derived from the spiritual and the animal world. His chief activity was to overcome rivals and demonstrate wherever he could the superiority of his own strength. From all accounts of their behavior the shamans were heartless egoists. The term shaman here, besides, refers in a modern sense to people who have only weak relations with supernatural forces. The greater the degree of intimacy with the force the greater was their power. Ordinary persons who do things in funny or unexplainable ways are still often humorously called *məde'olinu*. In addition to maintaining a general rivalry from village to village and even between neighboring tribes, shamans had the faculty of foretelling events, sending their spirits and helpers abroad to do their bidding or learn what was wanted.

The shaman in the tribe seems to have had all the functions ascribed to sorcerers in the north, that of causing sickness or misfortune, of removing the same, and contesting his power with that of rivals, while occasionally we learn of more altruistic services rendered in warfare and in ridding the world of monsters. Our conclusions, however, as to the character of the shaman and his profession may better be deferred until the available data have been given.

217–223. S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. xliii, xliv, gives a concise definition of the term "Booöwin is the Micmac word for wizard. . . . The ancient booöwin could, he (the Micmac) firmly believes, fly through the air, go down through the earth, remain under water as long as he chose, transform himself into an animal." Also, C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 86, Boo-oinak, magicians. S. Hagar, "Micmac Magic and Medicine," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. IX, no. 34, p. 173, gives a detailed account of the "*booöin*, Magic power and all possessors of it."

Although everyone knew the *mədeʼolinu* when he had become famed through his achievements, there is no remembrance of a shaman having been slain for vengeance by the friends of his victims or of his having been attacked on account of his maleficence. This seems a little extraordinary since nearly every mishap and evil consequence in the little native community was in the early times attributed to the action of a shaman whose identity, if not actually known was, we are told, at least generally suspected. As to special public functions, the shamans appear to have had none, except occasionally in the myths as destroyers of tribal enemies, mundane or spiritual, and dispellers of tribal misfortunes.

Family Shamanism

A shamanistic feature of considerable importance now deserves some attention, though we are greatly handicapped by the unavoidable circumstance that our knowledge of it is obscured by antiquity and the decay of the old life. Family shamanism is directly indicated by tradition among the Penobscot. Different family groups, we are told, had their own shamans whose talents were employed in the protection of their family hunting territories against trespassers. A shaman could detect when other hunters were intruding upon his family tract. He could then take measures to thwart and punish the infringement. From this situation arise numerous tales (see pages 23, 29, 35, 64) in which we hear how intruders are discovered in animal guise, in which traps are sprung, hunting trips spoiled by bad luck and the like. The malefactors are then spiritually persecuted by the shaman of the group, who may himself be the proprietor of the territory. One gathers an impression that such a shamanistic function may have been fundamental among a hunting people of this character. Besides the Penobscot tales of this sort we have other references to a similar function in other parts of the northern area. References occur among the Montagnais[1]

[1] The writer's Montagnais and Mistassini notes indicate that conjurors had the power of ascertaining by magic means when trespass occurred on their hunting grounds. They sometimes frightened intruders by placing ghosts as guardians at different spots in the districts. Conjurors also caused sickness or bad luck to fall upon persons who trespassed on their hunting grounds.

and among the northern Ojibwa.[1] The feature of family shamanism is, however, a posterior discovery in the region so we have not as yet sufficient information to assign to it a continuous distribution over northern North America. Nevertheless it may be expected to be reported from intervening Algonkian tribes and even from the northwest. It is of no little significance that the same feature has analogues among the Paleoasiatic peoples. Bogoras discusses it and makes a point of its probable antiquity among the Chukchi.[2] In considering, however, the question of distribution we could hardly go further at present than to remind ourselves of the many positive and negative similarities between the Athapascans and Algonkians of northern Canada and the natives of northeastern Asia, not only in shamanism but in other topics of culture.

Means of Acquiring Shaman's Power

The means of acquiring magic power were considered to be more or less involuntary according to the Penobscot.

We learn, from Lion,[3] that a group of seven or eight men were known sometimes to have gotten together in a "dark lodge"[4] and camp out in this way in a company. Here they would each perform tricks after which it would be learned that some perhaps had acquired magic power and secured some particular *baohi·'gan*

[1] Cf. "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley," *Memoir 70, Anthropological Series, No. 8, Geological Survey of Canada* (1915), p. 4. "Each family as a rule had some shaman in its ranks who could be called upon to work malefic influence upon a member of another family who was known to have intruded (upon the former's hunting grounds). In this way we can see how, in the community of old, a much involved system of cross-conjuring must have grown up often, as the Indians themselves state, causing more or less rivalry and feuds between certain families. Sickness in general came to be attributed to these sources it is claimed."

[2] W. Bogoras, "The Chukchee (Religion)," *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. VII, part 2 (1907), p. 413. "Family shamanism being quite simple and primitive probably antedated the shamanism of individuals having special skill and invention, and the latter seems to have been based on the former. Family shamans exist among the Koryak, Asiatic Eskimo, and probably existed also among the Kamchadal and Yukaghir."

[3] Newell Lion was one of the principal contributors to our information on early Penobscot life. He lost his life in the woods in the spring of 1919.

[4] *bəsəgi'k'an* "dark wigwam," a small conical brush wigwam.

or helper (see p. 249). To ordinary people the *mɔde'olinu* was, and still is, extremely mysterious. No one professes to know just how any shaman first obtained his power or even how he operated it. In the minds of most of these Indians, I think, the shaman is thought to have acquired power involuntarily, presumably to have been born with it or to have had it grow on him.[1] The same impression is to be gathered from some of the myths and anecdotes. Folklore incidentally claims that to have stains in one's nether garments is a sure sign of the possession of shamanistic power. Some individuals are even supposed to possess it without knowing that they do. As to heredity, there are no general observations; the prevalent idea would indicate that shamans develop, perhaps through some supernatural selection of which they are but the passive instruments.

As to sex we have mention of both male and female *mɔde'olinu*,[2] the latter having the designation *mɔde'olinɑs'kwe* "shaman woman," and, according to the opinion of men, being the more virulent manifestation.

Shamanistic power also seems to have been capable of disintegration and loss. In the myths we learn of heroes using up their power and having to rest and recuperate. This feature is discussed

[1] C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 340, makes a similar statement concerning the Passamaquoddy. He also says that it is sometimes acquired (p. 343) through training. Again (p. 367) the method is by fasting and abstinence from sleep. S. Hagar, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. IX, no. 34, p. 172, describes how the Micmac believe magic power can be acquired. The novice must keep his object a secret while camping alone in the woods with an outfit for two, the other, an invisible companion. A being will finally appear, it is thought, who will give him the gift of magic, the power to assume animal shapes, to walk through fire unharmed, through water without being drowned, to translate himself through the air with the quickness of thought, to control the elements, to walk on the water, and the like. The idea of contracting to trade oneself for the gift of magic comes out in Micmac through a tale in the writer's collection where a man agrees to pay it with his next boy baby. His next baby is a girl. So he is claimed by his spirit master for which the Micmac find proof in the violent death which he suffered. His body was burned by his relatives. A Malecite informant said that he had heard that if a Christian omitted saying his prayers for seven days and nights he would become a shaman.

[2] Cf. also for Passamaquoddy statement, C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 342, and S. T. Rand, *Micmac Dictionary*, p. 245. The Micmac of Nova Scotia, according to late chief Abe Toney, believed that the shamans were mostly women.

again on page 267. Conversion from shamanism is known not alone through missionary testimony but from the evidence of folklore. The renunciation of power seems to have been accompanied by great physical disturbance and even danger of death. Several anecdotes in Penobscot (p. 265) illustrate this very widespread concept.

Indications of the Existence of a Shaman's Society

If there ever did exist any organized society of shamans in this region the only vestiges of it now are to be found in a few traditional items, which might perhaps indicate the former existence of something of this nature though they do not specify anything definite at all. The generally unorganized state of society among the Wabanaki tribes appears to have been unbroken by the occurrence of any shamans' association if we decide to rely upon the significance of the evidence that we actually possess. Such references to shamans' gatherings may denote occasional assemblages for contests of power, for tribal protection or for other temporary social purposes and in this light I think we see the true significance of the few accounts of the sessions. Shamanism, in the region, was probably as much an individualized a matter as religion or the hunt and other features of ethnology. In the small collection of texts at the end of this paper are given several narratives of this class, one a Penobscot tale of a shamans' assembly for the testing of power, another is the account in Wawenock, a dialect very closely related to Penobscot, of a contest in the exhibition of power (p. 285). After questioning informants and searching through literature, only the following additional mentions are forthcoming. One is warranted, I think, in feeling that here in the northeast no regular society, comparable to the shamans' cults of the Central Algonkian, held prominence in the life of this region.

According to Nicolar[1] there seems to have been, during one former period at least, a sort of organization among the shamans. Some were appointed, as told in tradition, to follow and watch the first white people seen in the Penobscot country. We have, how-

[1] Joseph Nicolar, *The Red Man*, Bangor, Me., 1896, p. 107 *et passim*.

ever, even from Nicolar no very detailed account of the more secret side of shamanism. Some interesting generalities, however, deserve quotation.

> The spiritual men (*məde'olinu*), when closely cornered would disappear on the spot; at other times only some swift-footed animal could be seen leaving the spot, while others would turn into birds and fly away. Although the shamans had been told never to use their power in taking life, in pain of losing it, yet many times this was disregarded, and one shaman would chase another, overtake him and slay him. His remains never would be found because the slayer never told how it was done.

Also, in one of the stories of civil strife among these northern tribes where the opposing shamans were selected to carry on the battle or lead their bands,

> the leaders or spiritual men met first and very often without giving orders to their men plunged headlong into the battle using all the power that was in them while the rest would be looking on. They were able to disappear in an instant, and when one conquered he would be seen coming toward his men. . . . In the early days the power of the shamans was not alike, there were some who could see a long distance, and others who could hear a long way, some could send their voices through the air to any distance, while others had the power in their war cry or yell to take away the strength of those they intended to disable so they fall to the ground and lay helpless for some moments.[1]

In regard to the formation of these shaman bands, it seems that they were selected by the chiefs, and furthermore that dissenting or jealous bands grew up to oppose the selected ones. Once at least in the traditional history of the tribe, we hear of a disruption and war resulting from this.[2]

A final isolated account states that a dance of the medicine-men used to occur in the spring of the year when they returned from hunting.

The above reference might be regarded as having some allusion to a shaman society like the Midewin of the Central Algonkian, but there is not much evidence to warrant this since it appears to have been a temporary banding together, more for military than religious ends. No further suggestion of a society of shamans of the typical Algonkian sort is met with in the Penobscot region.

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[1] Nicolar, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

The individual independence of the shamans results in a great deal of specialization in their behavior and in their tricks, so that only the few general facts set down above seem to apply to them as a class. For the rest they have to be considered as separate personages, having their own peculiar attributes for which it is necessary to refer to the collection of anecdotes and shaman stories.

The Baohi''gan

Every magician had his helper which seems to have been an animal's body into which he could transfer his state of being at will. The helper was virtually a disguise, though we do not know whether the animal was believed to exist separately from the shaman when not in the shaman's service or whether it was simply a material form assumed by the shaman when engaged in the practice of magic. The helper then is known by the term *baohi''gan*, a very interesting term which may be explained as meaning "instrument of mystery."

The Penobscot stem *bao-*, which I believe denotes the concept of mystery, is common property in some capacity to most of the northeastern tribes.[1] In Penobscot the stem evidently appears again in the term *nəbau'linu* "mystery man" described as a puzzle maker whose speech was couched in symbolism or allegory. These men, a few of whom are remembered by older members of the living generation, posed as sages. Their utterances were considered too profound to be understood except after careful thought. They not only spoke at council meetings but frequently practised their art for amusement. Mechling evidently refers to similar men among the Malecite[2] and Leland defines *n'paowlin* among the Passamaquoddy[3] as a man learned in mysteries, a scholar, comparable to Micmac *buo'win* pow-wow man.

A strict correspondence between the naming and functions of

[1] Micmac *buo-*, Malecite and Passamaquoddy *pu-*, Abenaki *bao-*, Natick *pow-*, (J. H. Trumbull, "Natick Dictionary," *Bulletin 25, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 124.)

[2] W. H. Mechling, *Malecite Tales*, p. 18, footnote.

[3] C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Tales of New England*, p. 352, footnote. The Malecite term *nəpáulin* means a "learned man" in modern usage.

the animal helper exists only among the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy and Malecite.[1] Except for the dissimilarity of the designating term (Micmac *nti'o'm*, *nti'o'mel*, third person) we could also include in this grouping the Micmac, among whom the tales of the exploits of shamans and their helpers are almost identical throughout with those of the Penobscot, Malecite, and Passamaquoddy.

The variation of the animal helper idea among the tribes north of the St. Lawrence who form the culture area corresponding to that south of the river, is very interesting. The animal disguise of the shaman here seems to be a less emphatic feature if we may conclude from the nature of the information presented by published sources. Skinner says of the Cree:[2]

> Evil conjuring is performed by *miteo* against his rivals or enemies. A dream informs him what course to take. Sometimes a bird or animal is *captured* and imbued with malevolent power. It is sent to the intended victim and strikes or falls upon him, killing him.

The Montagnais, as I have learned, also dream of the visit of some particular animal whose advice received in the dream is followed for the procuring of game.[3] In the lower St. Lawrence the Montagnais of Escoumains believe that the shaman has a black bird which he consults for supernatural knowledge and which he may also send away on spiritual errands. Concerning the Naskapi, Turner says something similar.[4]

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[1] Passamaquoddy and Malecite *pu''hi'gan*. In Micmac the term corresponding to the *baohi''gan* of the three tribes just mentioned is *nti'óm*, first personal form (*utió'mel*, third person).

Cf. also S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 133, "His teomul is the loon whose form and habits he immediately assumes," and p. 161, "sundry animals passed by . . . all of them animals and brutes which were at the same time men who had the power of assuming the form of their tutelary deities, their teomuls," and p. 12, "Booöin as tutelar deity of Chepichkam" (snail). See also Rand, *Micmac Dictionary*, p. 267, "totem-ootooömul."

[2] Alanson B. Skinner, "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. IX, part 1, (1911), p. 67.

[3] Cf. F. G. Speck, "Game Totems of Northeastern Algonkians," *American Anthropologist*, N.S., vol. XIX, no. 1 (1917), p. 16.

[4] L. M. Turner, "Ethnology of the Ungava District," *Eleventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 272. "Each person has a patron spirit. . . . These

Direct information from Penobscot informants says that the *baohi''gan* could be sent to fight or to work for his master the shaman.[1] It could be sent on any mission whatsoever according to the shaman's will. We are told, too, that the owner remained inert while his *baohi''gan* was away.

Whatever injury was done to the *baohi''gan* in an encounter, was transferred to the shaman owner.[2] If it were killed the owner died simultaneously. We have several direct cases of the mention of how shamans were slain through the destruction or wounding of their helpers. Including dream instances, (p. 269–71) there may be noted three cases where the *baohi''gan* was killed by a blow with a stick on the head, and two in which a jab from a stick encompassed their end. Recovery in such a case could only be had by the administration of medicine given by the causer.[3]

The *baohi''gan* when acquired by a shaman was thenceforth considered, said Newell Lion, as a part of himself. Accordingly we find certain taboos existing governing the shaman's relation to it. Another term used in referring to the *baohi''gan* is "his helper in trouble."

spirits assume an infinite variety of forms and to know just what form it assumed when it inflicted its baneful effects, the shamans or medicine-men must be consulted."

[1] An excellent illustration, and an analogy as well is furnished in a Malecite tale related by Gabe Perley. Sapiel Sockalexis, a former shaman, engaged in a magic contest with Newell Paul. Paul was at Woodstock, N. B., and Sockalexis was at French village. Their *buhi''gan* (Malecite) were pitted against each other. Sockalexis was in his room groaning and evidently undergoing severe exertion. His wife heard the struggle but did not interfere, or intrude. At last he came forth and showed her a beetle (*mi'kənákwəs*, species of "June bug" called "turtle") which he had captured and placed in a glass. He had tied its legs together with fine hair. "I got him, I got him!" he declared. Paul's *buhi''gan* was the beetle.

[2] The Micmac analogy is found in S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 12. The chief, a shaman or booöin, dies when his teömul (tutelar deity) is killed. This is also confirmed by Micmac informants in Nova Scotia.

Strictly analogous stories, some of them almost identical with ones given here, are recorded among the Iroquoian tribes. I have not tried systematically to collect these but the following sources may be consulted. E. A. Smith, "Myths of the Iroquois," *Second Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1880–1, pp. 72–3–4. E. W. Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, p. 100–1, also C. M. Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 1 p. 348. Also Mohegan, cf. F. G. Speck, "Notes on the Mohegan and Niantic Indians," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. III, p. 196 (1909).

[3] Also a Malecite belief (Gabe Perley).

Among the various animal forms, "some being land and others water creatures," assumed by shamans we find by glancing over the available Penobscot material, both in serious myths and in the minor tales relating to recent times, the following guises: otter (3),[1] beaver (2), muskrat, porcupine, white bear, white owl, mink, loon, white loon, bird, eel, snail, bear, panther, dog, spider, ball of fire, bull, wolf, big snake (2), body like a snake with scars on cheeks, windfall, and person playing on Jew's harp.[2]

A shaman usually had but one "*baohi'gan*," but John Neptune, who was a powerful magician, according to Mr. Ferris'[3] information, had seven.

Some of the tribe followed John Neptune one day until he stopped by the shore of a lake. There he sang and sang until an immense eel arose from the water and making its way to the shore crawled to where John Neptune stood. He took its head between his hands and stroked it softly, thus cementing the bond between them as master and servant. The wolf, the beaver, and the bear were some of his other servants and he would never hurt them nor eat their flesh.

A sample of the kind of first-hand anecdote concerning the *baohi'gan* related to-day at Oldtown is the following.

I was hunting up in the country by the waters of the St. John River. One night a tremendous ball of fire appeared rushing through the air moving upstream. It had a large head and behind was a snake-like body. I could even see scars on the cheek of the creature. Pretty soon another appeared. I thought they were "fire creatures," *eskuda'hit*, but my father said they must be *mədeoli'nuwak*.

Newell Lion told Mr. Ferris the following:

The usual way for a witch-man to secure his animal helper was to go out in the woods or by the shore of a lake according to the home of the animal and sing to it. Gradually it would appear and then the witch-man would stroke it with his hand in order to bind the animal to him as a servant.

In another instance it is related how one time a shaman went off alone into the woods taking with him a toad which he changed into a woman to afford him companionship during his hunting trip.

[1] The figures here denote the number of instances recorded.

[2] Practically all of these are similarly assigned to Malecite and Passamaquoddy shamans. In addition I have tales in Micmac where the creature was a jellyfish (*sasáp'*) and a cat.

[3] Mr. R. H. Ferris, a student in the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, undertook to study Penobscot shamanism with Newell Lion while he was visiting the writer in Philadelphia in 1914.

In the memory of the oldest people at Oldtown several *mədé'olinu*, with the names of their *baohi·'gan*, are remembered. The most famous of these was Gov. John Neptune whose *baohi·'gan* was an eel (*nahɑ́'mu*). He figures frequently in our data. Another man, Mitchell Francis, a Passamaquoddy who lived much of his life at Oldtown and died there, had a wolf (*ma'lsəm*) for his. He figures in one of the anecdotes.

Certain taboo relationships existed between the man and his *baohi·'gan*. The shaman never killed the animal, nor did he tell even its name nor mention the thing at all. Nevertheless everyone knew the *baohi·'gan* of each noted shaman. Not only did the witch men, moreover, never kill this animal but they would not partake of its flesh when killed by another.

This was the test for discovering the *baohi·'gan* of a witch-man; for if all were at table and the meat of a beaver, for example, was passed around and an individual refused to eat of it everyone knew immediately that the beaver was this man's *baohi·'gan*.[1]

Some shamans are said to have used figures of their animal helpers cut out of birch bark in their performances. These, it is claimed, could be sent abroad on their errands.

Animal helpers distinct from the *baohi·'gan*, are of frequent mention in the myths. They seem, however, to be only volunteer helpers, who take a temporary interest in the fate of the human hero, though some of them promise to render aid again, if need be, when summoned by a wish. In this category we hear of rabbit, dog, porcupine and chickadee several times, and kingfisher, deer, bear, woodchuck, shark, heron, and other anthropomorphic supernatural creatures, such as Thunder, Morning Star, *Mi·'kɑmwe·'s·u*, *Ske'gədemu`s*, and "old man" and "old woman."

The following table is arranged for convenience to show the cognate shamanistic terms in the languages of the Wabanaki tribes and some of their neighbors and culture relatives. Where the sources are not mentioned the information is derived from the writer's fieldnotes.

[1] In the words of Newell Lion.

TABLE OF SHAMANISTIC TERMS IN NORTHEASTERN ALGONKIAN DIALECTS

	Penobscot	St. Francis Abenaki	Malecite and Passamaquoddy	Micmac	Montagnais	Mohegan (Southern New England)
Magic power, Sorcery ...	ktahán·do		ktahan'tˡ	buówinu·'di (booöinwadagan[1])	mœnit'o	múndu[2] (Natick, monetuonk pauwauonk)
Shaman.....	mədéolinu	mədáulinu[3]	mədéolin[4]	buówin	wabi·'nu[5] kamœntoci't[6]	moigú (Natick, pauwau, maunêtu)
Animal spiritual helper	baohi'gan		puhi·'gan	nti·óm "my-"[7] uti·ómel "his-"		
Fetish in general ...	wulelmu-[8] gwéwœŋgan	madaǫ́do[9]	wulelmúgwewàgən[8]	ebat·ɛ'gəm	wewélcipèlcwagan	

THE TRANSITIONAL PERIODS OF THE SHAMANS

Stories of magicians' exploits fall into three groups which afford an interesting insight into the question of how the whole field of information concerning the practice of personal magic, as an ancient mythological doctrine, has survived in a continually weakening state from the mythical flourishing age through the historical stage

[1] S. T. Rand, *Micmac Dictionary*, p. 245. booöwinode.

[2] The same means the "devil" in Micmac. Here it also means "God." For the Natick terms see J. H. Trumbull, *Bulletin 25, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 120, and 64.

[3] See Abenaki text, p. 283.

[4] Malecite and Micmac have still another designation *gi·'nap* which has been defined to me as a "warrior," a "brave," not necessarily a magician. (See also W. H. Mechling, *Malecite Tales*, p. 20, and footnote, and p. 125. "The *ginap* differs from medeolin in that his magical power is not restricted to warlike deeds.")

[5] The *wabi 'nu* ("seeing man") is generally a member of a specific grade of shamans among the Central Algonkian who possess the graded Medicine Lodge (Midewin).

[6] Literally "one who deals with snakes" at Escoumains on the St. Lawrence. The animal helper of the shaman is known as *kamœdzi't* "one who does evil."

[7] Cf. S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 133; also S. T. Rand, *Micmac Dictionary*, p. 267, who gives it as "teomul." The stem here shorn of its pronominal and intervocal elements is simply *-i·om.*

[8] Literally, "good luck implement."

[9] Cf., A. Maurault, *Histoire des Abenakis* (Quebec, 1866), p. 29 and 122.

down to the period when magical performances are still ascribed to men who are either recently dead or living at a distance. In any case their deeds in consequence cannot be discredited by any but the most skeptical, of whom, of course, there are always a few in regard to all matters of belief among the natives. Corresponding to the three chronological type periods in the history of the shamans we have the following categories of tales as a basis for our viewpoint. First, there are the regular mythical tales of every class (p. 257–9) in which the characters in the narrative transform themselves into animals upon any occasion. It is as though this undifferentiated human-animal character were a normal condition in what may be fittingly termed the mythological age. Secondly there are the specific quasi-historical tales of magicians (pp. 259 *et seq.* and 282) who may even be remembered by name; tales with no other object in view than the relation of a magic act. These belong to the transitional historic period. And thirdly, there are the stories which generally appear as short anecdotes (p. 264, 5) not having the mythological literary qualities at all. These describe the behavior of some individual who either is regarded as possessing magic power by reason of certain mysterious deceptions which may be ascribed to him. These are anecdotes of very recent times, which we might term mere fragmentary units of shaman lore.

It would seem then that in these modern skeptical days the belief in the power of the shaman only lingers in the mind of the Indian as a survival, there being, to his knowledge, no practical basis for it except through hearsay and through mythology. It seems, moreover, as though these beliefs properly belong in the mythological material from whence they have emanated. In both shamanism and mythology the interchangeability of man and certain animals is an essential element. The mythical age is, indeed, virtually an age of universal shamanism[1] which has been trending toward dissolution as time comes down to the present. In the case of the Penobscot the dissolution of shamanistic practice

[1] C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, pp. 284–289, shared the same opinion concerning the Micmac and Passamaquoddy when he speaks of the heroes of mythology in general as *m'teolin*, and again p. 246, and p. 126, where Gluskap transformed some powerful enemy *m'teolin* into sharks.

is about complete, for they can not now boast of a single performer. The last possible claimant to this distinction died a few years ago. His character was so colorless, so unemphatic, and his performances so childish to the minds of his contemporaries that we may wonder whether he was strictly in his sound senses, and as such whether he is to be estimated as a shamanistic character or a mere imbecile. (See anecdotes of Edmund Francis, p. 267.)

MƎDE'OLINU EXPLOITS.

We have the following specific magical acts attributed to magicians among the Penobscot. These have been listed from myths in my collection of texts, from specific shaman anecdotes which are given with this paper, and from direct tradition. In some cases the latter is so brief that we are told nothing more than that a *mədə'olinu* was once discovered to have done this or that. The category of exploits will, of course, be extended with the increase in amount of tradition and mythology that will be collected in the future. Even as it stands, however, the list shows the general character of the Penobscot shaman's feats and, moreover, it shows that the same general episodes occur in the tales of the related neighboring tribes. We find accordingly that shamans are accredited with the power to kill or injure creatures by pointing the finger at them, to prove their strength over rivals either in combat or in contest, to escape from their enemies by magic means, to spy on enemies, to imprint their footprints in hard surfaces, to increase or diminish their size, to spoil the luck of trappers and hunters, to cause thick ice to heave, to pass through barriers (doors and the like), to roll away a heavy rock, to lift themselves from the floor, to foresee the approach of strangers, to remain beneath water, to force rivals to throw off their animal disguises, to render themselves invisible, and so on.

Among the more conservative northern and central Algonkian tribes shamans are almost inseparably associated with their drums. For some reason in this region, however, we hear little of the shaman's drum, though whether it be on account of deculturation I cannot say. We hear only occasionally through direct tradition

of another mechanical aid employed; a flute of cedar wood possessing the power to call game animals and helpers, to attract the affections of women, and to lure enemies into an ambush. This instrument is called *bi''bi'giwądi.*, "*bi'bi'* (onomatopoetic) tube."

In the myths we learn that a belt served frequently as an instrument of magic. Gluskap had one with which he girded on his magic power, so to speak.[1] At different times in the myths such objects as a ball or a pipe[2] are animated temporarily with the sorcerer.

It would hardly seem essential to the discussion of the shaman to mention all the instances which we possess in the collection of texts, of the various exploits involving acts of magic which fall under the classification of shamans' deeds. A few such, however, chosen from the texts, may help to define the feeling toward shamanism which the Indians have today derived from their knowledge of mythology.

Among the most important myth cycles here those of *Gluskąʻbe*, *Kwun'a''wus*, *Mi''kamwe's'u*, *Bi''tes* and others, are to be included in the category of records of magic, the same as those of historic shamanistic personages. Magician tests come into a great many of the myths.

Often when a strange hero—generally an abandoned boy who grows rapidly into a prodigy—comes to the village he is tested by the resident village magicians.

Mythology in fact seems full of the idea that in early times every stranger was a potential magical antagonist. In almost every instance a meeting between the hero of the tale and some other personage results in a contest of shamanistic power. Again, when stories describe how families occupy neighboring camps, we soon find that their innocent friendship endures only until an opportunity offers itself for one to magically tyrannize the other. From the import of the myths, one could wonder whether the old Indian families were ever free from suspicion of malice toward

[1] Cf. C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 86, for a similar Micmac reference.

[2] S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 295, "He (Gluskap) was a great magician and one of his principal sources of power was the pipe."

each other. In this setting, then, we seem to find the greater part of Wabanaki mythology to be shamanistic in character.

In one case the hero, White Weasel, brings a whale's tail into camp to eat and another shaman at a challenge takes it away. Then he tears this shaman's arm from its socket with one twist. A wrestling match follows in which White Weasel throws his opponent in such a manner that every time he sinks up to his knees in a stone ledge. Finally he breaks off his legs and kills him.[1] He also drags a great rock, makes a canoe of it, lures his enemies on to it, and blows them to sea to drown, then transforms the village into a sumach bed.

In another tale a hero named Fast Runner is given a test in which he is to break a great bone by twisting it with his two hands.[2] He races with miraculous speed. The hero later is placed where he is to spear a beaver. He outruns his rival brothers-in-law, turns himself into a beaver which none of them can spear except the youngest. Later he assumes the form of a bear, and kills his brothers-in-law. He also undergoes the freezing test and overcomes his opponents by causing them to freeze to death.[3] The wrestling test is also on record, while tests in running are mentioned several times. Another case of test occurs in a tale where White Bear (*Wαmpsk'ʷ*) whose *baohi''gan* was a white bear died when the latter was killed. A hero named White Owl kills him by shooting his heart which, his only vulnerable spot like Achilles, was in his heel.

Gluskabe, the major transformer personage, is regarded as the chief of shamans. Among the shamanistic feats which he performs is the reduction in size of the moose and the squirrel, the subjugation of the grasshopper, the fox and other animals and things, such as wind, waterfalls, and winter-man. He makes a canoe of rock, overcomes rivals in the endurance of cold and smoking contests with the magic pipe, in the bowl game contest with magic bowl, lifting a great stone dish, and besides he gives power to Turtle to jump over a wigwam, to win a race, ballgame, and so on.

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[1] See also page 263 and footnotes.

[2] For the Micmac correspondence see S. T. Rand, "*Legends of the Micmacs*," p. 275.

[3] This was a common popular game, a beaver tibia being used.

Another hero, *Kwun'a'wus*, endures the freezing test and freezes his enemies, runs a rapids in a canoe where his enemies drown, wins a lacrosse game by transforming a spruce twig into a ball, but is finally killed by a female shaman who causes him to be crushed between two mountains. Such are some of the general characteristics of mythical magicians for which there are cognates in practically all the tribes of the group.

In another myth two monster cannibals, shamans of the mythical age, become engaged in a fight in which they employ the power of their voices as weapons. The hero of the tale is warned by his companion to stop up his ears while they pass by lest he succumb to the terrible cries.[1]

Again we learn of the power of shamans to render themselves invisible. (See page 261.) It is attributed to Gluskabe in a myth which relates how he escaped from the amorous pursuit of a female creature (*Pukədji'nskwe's·u*[2]). The same power is attributed to shamans by Nicolar,[3] and we hear of it from general sources among the Indians.

Our material seems to be a little one-sided in respect to the function exercised by the shamans as healers of disease. There are instances of shamans causing disease and injury and of their curing the troubles which they have caused, but we have few or none where the shaman is specifically a doctor. Our evidence for this sort of service on the part of the shamans is only indirect among the

[1] Cf. C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 340–1, and 239, for Passamaquoddy instances of the voice feat. It is also mentioned of the Abenaki. Cf. *Kuloskap The Master*, C. G. Leland and J. D. Prince, New York, 1902, p. 242. Another reference to this belief among the Passamaquoddy is given in footnote 2, on page 263 of this paper, and W. H. Mechling (*Malecite Tales*, p. 76) records one in Malecite. Another account, from Gabe Perley, relates how a former Malecite shaman (Sapiel Sockalexis) claimed the power of sending his voice over great distances. He desired once to wager $25 with Perley that he could yell so that he would be heard from Tobique 110 miles away. Unfortunately for us, Perley was so discreet as to decline the challenge.

[2] Cf. also W. H. Mechling, *Malecite Tales*, p. 123.

[3] Invisibility seems to be an attribute of the Malecite shaman. A tale is related of Sockobi Atwin wherein he was called to aid a woman suffering great pain. He ran forth and later came back in an exhausted condition. "I have fixed her," he said, and then told how he had perceived an invisible witch prod the patient with a stick. He had pursued and driven the witch off, whereupon the pain left the sufferer.

Penobscot, though it frequently occurs in the literature of the other Wabanaki tribes.[1] Among the Penobscot, in recent times, doctors who form a special class of professionals called *nutsi''pi'lewet* "one who cures," have used almost exclusively the practical means of curing, through herbs, roots, bark, leaves, berries, and similar things, in their trade.[2] Some few fetishes have also been found in use, generally preserved among the stores of herbal remedies, with the object of lending strength both to the doctor and to the material means. A perforated stone having a string attached to it has been known to serve in this capacity. In the old accounts of the tribes of Maine mention is made of the same practice and the same fetish. So we have a somewhat satisfactory confirmation of our modern data despite their scantiness.[3] These fetishes were termed *madaodo* (Penobscot *madjahα'n'do* "evil power"). There are now in the tribe no prominent professional healers. Sockalexis, said to have been the last medicine man, died about twenty years ago. The herb practitioner never played the part of magician or conjurer, nor was he held in fear.

The ability to recognize another shaman engaged in mischief-making in his animal disguise, and to encompass his end by killing the creature, is frequently attributed to the *mədə'olinu*. This form

[1] The older writers on the Micmac seem to emphasize the shaman's function as a healer. Leclercq (1691), "New Relation of Gaspesia," *Edition of Champlain Society*, Toronto, 1910, by Dr. W. F. Ganong, pp. 217, 223, 299. Also Nicholas Denys (1672), "Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America," same series, edition by W. F. Ganong (1908), p. 417.

[2] A list of northeastern Algonkian pharmacopeia is given by the writer in a paper entitled "Medicine Practices of the Northeastern Algonquians," *Proceedings of the Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists*, December, 1915.

[3] A. Maurault, *Histoire des Abenakis*, Quebec, 1866, p. 122 says: "Each Indian got various objects from the shamans like little stones, bones or similar things which they preserved. . . . These were called madaodos. They thought that they protected them from accidents and misfortunes and brought them good luck in the hunt, games and warfare." Also Father Drouilletes (cf. *Jesuit Relations*, vol. XXXI (1647), p. 191) says of the Indians of the Kennebec that they kept stones and other things "as a token of dependence upon the Demon, in order to be happy in the hunt, in play or in war. It is given them by some sorcerer or they dream that they will find it in some place, or their imagination makes them believe that the Manitou presents to them whatever they encounter." This belief still prevails in the region; the modern Indians call an object which is suddenly encountered *géskəməzi'*, "something found by chance," and occasionally cherish it as a fetish.

of tale is very common not only throughout the whole northeast but in Iroquoian folklore as well. We have several Penobscot tales of this character (see pages 252 and 287) and a number from the neighboring related tribes.[1]

A Penobscot example is the following:

The Indians were camping on the St. John river and living on eels which they were spearing through the ice. One day a white loon appeared suddenly. After this the spears of the eel catchers struck only rock instead of mud and of course there were no eels. The shaman in the camp told them that the white loon was a mischievous French magician who must be killed. The hunters killed the loon and immediately afterwards the eeling became all right again.

An account of a typical shamans' exploit of a similar nature is the following anecdote told at Oldtown.

One night some hunters were camping in a wigwam near some friends. During the night an otter appeared at the doorway and one of the men in the bed at the back of the lodge opposite the door began talking in his sleep. One of the hunters awakened, seized a brand from the fire and poked the otter which ran out. A noise as of someone running away was immediately afterward heard outside. They went out and there lay the otter dead, surrounded by a kind of hoar frost, near the wind break or fence of brush which encircled the camp. The next season the same band camped at the same place and two boys of the band ran to a well to get a bucket of water. One of the boys got the pole of the well bucket stuck in his side. He staggered right over to the brush fence at the same spot where the otter had died, and a frost gathered round him. In the morning he was dead, lying in the same spot. They all thought that he was the *məde'olinu* who had appeared as an otter the year before. It was an uncanny affair.[2]

Charlie (Daylight) Mitchel told how his father was once hunting up on the Penobscot waters, and came under the influence of a *məde'olinu*, a woman named Caribou-quarter from *Maɑtnɑ'guk*.[3] He could catch nothing in his traps. Every time he visited them he found a stick stuck in them and the traps sprung. One night, however, he heard someone invisible playing on a jew's harp across on the other side of his fire. He took a sharp stick and fixed it near the fire. The next night when he heard the playing he

[1] Also Abenaki, *Kuloskap the Master*, C. G. Leland and J. D. Prince, p. 244. A shaman in the form of a muskrat is killed by a Mohawk shaman. In another tale (*ibid.*, p. 250), a similar contest is waged between shamans in the guises of bat, snowy owl, and wolverine.

[2] Related by Old Joe Francis.

[3] This is the uppermost village of the Penobscot on an island opposite Lincoln, Me.

thrust forward with it and struck something. The next morning his hunting luck was all right again. He returned home to the village with plenty of fur after a successful trip. Shortly after his return he learned that a woman at *Mɑtnɑ'guk* was suffering from a wound. She soon died and everyone said that she was a *mədə'olinu*, the one who had annoyed Mitchel in the woods.[1]

Chief among the shamans' activities seem to have been the waging of feuds between one another for causes which are far from certain; seemingly for little more than the demonstration of their power or for subduing rivals, or from fancied offence, jealousy or trespass.

The shaman is referred to as having the power of inflicting injury and even death upon the object of his temper by pointing at him with the forefinger and saying "*Kətci' kdli'na'mi''tun djen'i''*." You! You will see something before long!

This imprecation was sufficient to scare the victim and to result either in steps for the placation of the offended shaman or else in the physical decline of the victim through obsessive fear. Merely having been "crossed," in the Indian-English vernacular meaning "contradicted or displeased," was a sufficient basis for such malevolent, possibly hypnotic action. Other anecdotes in this category are as follows:

A party of hunters out in a canoe happened to have a shaman among them. Some ducks came flying over. The hunters said that they wished they could get some, although the flock was out of range. The shaman thereupon pointed his finger at the birds, and every time he did so a duck fell dead. Johnny Susup's story.

Whenever a shaman grew angry at anyone or was disappointed at being refused something by a certain man he stretched out his arms pointing with his index finger at the person and said, "You will regret it." Shortly afterwards the person either died of some foul disease or was found in the woods cut and bleeding from a number of wounds which resulted in his death. If the shaman's *baohi''gan* lived in the water his victim met his death by drowning.[2]

A widely known feat among the shamans of northeastern North America is that of appearing to sink knee deep at each step in

[1] C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 342, gives a somewhat similar tale of a hunter's luck being spoiled by a maleficent sorcerer.

[2] Related by Newell Lion to Mr. R. H. Ferris.

either rock, hard earth or ice. Perhaps no other single exploit is so frequently mentioned by writers on the tribes of the region as this one. It occurs in Micmac,[1] Passamaquoddy,[2] and Malecite[3] sources

[1] C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, Boston, 1885, p. 88, gives an account, apparently Micmac, of how Mikumwess dances "around a circle upon the hard floor. They saw his feet sink deeper at every step and ever deeper as the dances went on; ploughing the ground up into high uneven ridges forming a trench as he went until at length only his head was to be seen."

Another Micmac authority, Stansbury Hagar, "Micmac Magic and Medicine," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. IX, no. 34 (1896), p. 173, says, "Before a group of his companions a Micmac suddenly giving a terrible shout, danced in a most astonishing way, for at each step he drove his leg into the solid earth up to his knees. The prints of his steps remained until a few years ago in earth on which oxen make no impression, so Abram Glode tells me." Sapiel Sagaman who died about twenty-five years ago at Halifax is said to have been able, when angry enough, to stamp his foot several inches into the rock.

[2] Cf. C. G. Leland (*op. cit.*, p. 341–2). Leland discusses a second hand account of a Passamaquoddy magician who won a bet of ten dollars from some white people, by first screaming so loud that no one could move and then taking "seven steps through the ground up to his ankles as if it had been light snow." Cf. also C. G. Leland, *op. cit.*, p. 291. Leland further says "And very recently in Philadelphia . . . a spiritualist named Gordon performed the very same trick. Having been detected a full account of the manner of action appeared in the press of that city. It was done by a peculiar method of stooping and of concealing the stoop behind a skirt" (p. 342). See also Leland (*op. cit.*, p. 88–89). J. D. Prince, "Some Passamaquoddy Witchcraft Tales," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 160 (1900), p. 182, "They (the sorcerers) could violate the laws of nature so far as to walk in hard ground, sinking up to the ankles or knees at every step. He then gives a tale related by Newell S. Francis in the original Passamaquoddy text with a translation as follows (*op. cit.*, p. 185): "When I was fifteen years old, I saw a man who was a wizard. He was called a Mi'kumwess (a wood devil). He told me that he had sunk into hard ground up to his ankles, and he showed me the place where he had done so. I saw the track where he had walked." Cf. also J. D. Prince, "Notes on Passamaquoddy Literature," *Annals of New York Academy of Sciences*, vol. XIII, no. 4 (1901), p. 385. "It was no uncommon feat for *medeolin* to sink up to their knees in hard ground in the presence of a number of people . . . the magician always took seven long steps at each of which he sank up to his knees in the hardest earth." The feat is called *quetkeosag*.

[3] Gabe Paul relates an account of a Malecite shaman supposed to have lived in New Brunswick who once took three steps sinking knee-deep in the solid rock and then sat down. Where he trod and where he lay his bow when he sat down are marked by deep imprints now.

Gabe Perley (a Malecite from Tobique) more definitely ascribed a similar feat to Sapiel Sockalexis a *mədéolinu*, who died about thirty years ago. The version states that Sockalexis exposed his power, after a quarrel with his wife, by taking seven steps in a hard-trodden path, each time sinking his boots about four inches into the ground. Perley claims to have seen the marks.

and even among the Greenland Eskimo.[1] In one particular case the feat is also ascribed in a general way to the Penobscot conjurers of the past, the direct testimony which I have gathered being contained in the following passage, from the dictation of Old Joe Francis who died in 1916.

My grandfather was regarded as a *məde'olinu*. Often at night he would make his footprints in the solid rock where everybody could see them in the morning. He worked at night.

Another case occurs in a myth. Here the hero wrestles with an opponent. Each time that he is brought down upon the ground on his feet he sinks up to his knees and becomes stronger at each occasion until he is able to overcome the enemy.[2]

Old Mitchell Francis, a Passamaquoddy whose *baohi'·gan* was a wolf, is also accredited with having accomplished this feat at Oldtown, where he lived and died. The tale relates how having been persuaded to try his power (*udagwet'hɑ'n·dowin*) on one occasion near Bucksport, he made tracks in hard ground, denting the ground as deep as his ankles. Several people living at Oldtown until recently, one of them old Sabattis Shay, believed this account and claimed before me that they had seen the tracks.

A number of short accounts of the doings of the shamans, many of which from the native standpoint might, indeed, just as well be included among the myths, are given here where they seem to bear most directly. It is largely from this class of material, the supply of which seems almost inexhaustible among these Indians, that one has to deduce his general facts. Even the Indians themselves possess no more general means of inquiry into the subject, which I fear is capable of definition now only by means of such brief descriptive narratives.

[1] Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, p. 59.

[2] A very interesting Micmac version of this theme was related to the writer by Joe Toney of the Yarmouth band. In abstract it tells of a war between the Micmac (*Mi·gemawa'·tc*) and the western Wabanaki (*Keni· bɔwa'·tc*). The fighting men would thrust each other into the ground above the ankles. Hence they came to designate the stick which is thrust diagonally into the ground in camp for the suspension of the tea-pot, as *Mi·gemawa'·tc* and *Kəni· bewa'·tc*, the one by the other. When members of the two tribes are camping together they refrain from referring to the pot-stick lest the reminder awaken the traditional sentiments.

At Bucksport, Maine, where the Indians usually camped the second night in going by canoe down to "salt water", there is a fine spring of water. On one occasion they found that a big rock had slid down the bank and choked it up. The party had to camp without water that night. But a *məde'olinu* in the party told them that he would make it all right. The band made camp and went to sleep. In the morning it was found to be true. The rock had been removed, although no one had heard it done, and the water was flowing freely again.[1]

A pair of Malecite twins living a generation ago on St. John river were *məde'olinu*. Among the tricks attributed to them, it was said that one of these boys could hang his hat on a sunbeam, could let people in through locked doors, and could fasten ropes on a burdock plant from which to make a swing for himself. A good many people had seen these tricks.[2]

There was a boy in the country to the northeast who was *məde'olinu*. One of the strange things he did was to press a chip of wood against his mother's cheek once when she scolded him. The chip stuck to her cheek and could not be removed until he himself took it off.

Not long ago a man hereabouts had occasional *məde'olinu* power. For some reason they sent up to arrest him. He was camping by a frozen lake when the policeman and a deputy took him. He said he would submit, but declared that if he wanted to he could slay them both. While they were crossing over on the ice, he caused it to shake violently though it was several inches thick, and his captors were very much frightened. They believed that he could do almost anything. However, he went along with them, though later escaped from the jail. Another man when he gave himself up to Christianity, forsook his shamanistic powers though it cost him such pangs that he shook and trembled all over and nearly died before his power left him.

All the men of the tribe were afraid of these witch men and did not dare to touch them lest they (the witches) injure them in some way.

The familiar and oft-cited practice of sympathetic action in which injury could be inflicted by shooting the picture or likeness of the intended victim, was known in this region.[3] Newell Lion relates the belief that, having made an image by outlining in sand

[1] The power to lift up and throw a boulder of great size is included in the reputation of a shaman at Yarmouth, N. S., according to a Micmac informant. A similar feat is attributed to the Malecite shaman previously mentioned. He is believed to have lifted up and thrown, some distance, a boulder about five feet in diameter. This heroic feat is also accredited to the transformer Gluskabe.

[2] I have heard of these boys from a number of people. Gabe Paul furnished this anecdote.

[3] An independent Malecite source, Gabe Perley, gives identical information.

or drawing with a charred stick on bark the figure of his victim, the shaman named it and then shot, stabbed, clubbed or burned the likeness. As a consequence of this action the victim would suffer a corresponding fate unless he could bribe the operator to withdraw the cause or to annul it. It is believed that a small quantity of the victim's hair could be operated upon with the same effect.

Removing disease by suction is a shamanistic feat recorded of the tribes over extensive areas in America. It stands out prominently among the Central Algonkian. Here in the northeast, however, the only indications of such a practice are found in earlier accounts.[1]

Another shaman's trick which I have heard spoken of in the Penobscot village, is that of causing an iron rail to float on water.[2]

The shamans, moreover, often prophesied; for example, the coming of a direful swan was foretold by a shaman, the white creature subsequently becoming identified with the Europeans when they first appeared in ships off the shores of the Penobscot bay. Nicolar tells the story.[3] Prophecy is one of the general characteristics of the ancient shamans.[4] The power of increasing or diminishing his size is another shaman's attribute.[5] Again we hear of others who could even bore a hole in a tree and extract their favorite drink from it, plugging it up when they had drawn enough.[6]

The ability to handle fire, so commonly attributed to shamans

[1] Nicholas Denys, "Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America" (1672), *Edition of the Champlain Society*, p. 417, Toronto, 1908, by W. F. Ganong, and Chrêtienne Leclerq, "New Relation of Gaspesia" (1691), p. 217–223, *ibid.*, 1910, by W. F. Ganong. These authors describe practices of Micmac shamans in some detail, mentioning blowing, and evidently, sucking the seat of pain in case of sickness.

[2] The same is mentioned among the Micmac according to S. Hagar, "Micmac Magic and Medicine," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. IX, no. 34, p. 173. The Micmac of Nova Scotia also attribute this feat to Sapiel Sagaman, a magician who died about twenty-five years ago. It is claimed that he was seen to make float a stone, axe, and saw.

[3] Joseph Nicolar, pp. 97–105. For a Micmac mention of the power of prophecy, sée S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 144, footnote.

[4] The power of prophesying is mentioned explicitly of the ancient Abenaki by A. Maurault, *Histoire des Abenakis*, pp. 29, 30, 122, 125.

[5] Also Micmac (S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 171), "he was a brave boöin having the power of enlarging or diminishing his size at will."

[6] A similar feat is ascribed to a Micmac shaman by Joe Toney.

among the central tribes, seems to be practically unknown to the records of shamanism in the northeast. Extended inquiry failed to disclose knowledge of it except for a couple of cases quite negligible in significance. One of these states that a shaman was known to light his pipe by slowly holding a live coal on the bowl, and to spread the live coals in a fire with the bare hand so that a bean pot could be put there. Both of these performances however could be accomplished by a horny-handed lumberman without much discomfort.

A qualitative feature of the northeastern shaman's magic, not to be overlooked, is that the power had to be conserved lest it give out if drawn upon too much at one time.[1]

The anecdotes concerning Edmund Francis,[2] the *mədeʹolinu* by repute at Oldtown, mentioned before, are as follows: He boasts, or they say that he did once, of being able to cross his legs on a chair and then lift himself from the floor by pulling up on the rungs of the chair. He tells that once he made camp on the banks of a distant stream. When he got ready to leave he started to jump across, the stream being quite wide. Half way over he remembered that he had left behind his axe and in mid-air turned about, grabbed the axe and finished his jump without alighting. Once in camp with Frank Joe, up near the Mattawamkeag, he jumped up in the middle of the night from a deep sleep and fired his gun into the air twice in succession. When questioned about his queer behavior he declared that he wanted to scare away some white folks whom he felt to be approaching. Once when he was working with a gang on a log jam, he slipped off a rolling log and fell under the jam where he lay at the bottom for about three hours: He claimed that he could see the ends of the poles which the men poked down into the water to find him. He heard them saying, "Poor Edmun', he must be drowned by this time, poor fellow!" But he only wanted

[1] Commented upon also by W. H. Mechling concerning the Malecite, *Malecite Tales*, p. 4, and by C. G. Leland for the Passamaquoddy, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 221. A rabbit in one tale had come almost to an end of his *mʻtéoulin* or wizard power for that time, yet he had still enough left for one more great effort," and again, p. 367.

[2] This old man died uneventfully in 1914.

to scare them. He pushed aside the poles and stayed down until he got tired, then jumped up from the water and surprised them all.[1] Another time he became stranded on a rock in the midst of a very swiftly running rapids. He jumped upon what he thought was a log rushing by. It carried him into a log jam, and when it struck he jumped from it and then discovered that it was merely a roll of hollow bark. He thought it was a magic tree.

Upon another occasion Francis claimed to have been able to bend his gunbarrel so that when he fired at a curved line of ducks his bullet took a course that penetrated all the ducks in the line.

The Dreamer

The second order of magical practitioners is represented by individuals whose power lay in their ability to foresee events, to penetrate in a dream vision the barriers which prevent ordinary human beings from seeing the spiritual forces which underlie acts and which animate various creatures. They were shamans of a humbler sort. A dreamer, as we may call him, was known as *ki·ugwa'sowi·'no*[2] "man who searches about in dreams." Our direct information about this class of functionaries, since they are persons of the past, is very meager indeed, and leaves a number of vacant gaps. This makes it difficult to coördinate the social position and functions of the dreamer with what we know of similar personages among the Algonkian north of the St. Lawrence and those of the central group. From several informants, chief among whom Newell Lion again figures, I will now quote the data which have been brought to light, leaving the tentative discussion and comparative treatment until later when we have learned all that there is to know from the Penobscot sources.

The dreamers had the power to go to sleep and, while in this condition, to see what events where going to take place in the future.

[1] S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. xliii, xliv, mentions the same of the Micmac. The writer's Micmac notes contain reference to the claim that at one of the Wabanaki councils with the Iroquois at Caughnawaga the Micmac delegate swam through the La Chine rapids under water.

Penobscot tradition in general confirms the claim that some shamans could remain for a long time under water. (Informants, Charles Daylight and others.)

[2] *Ki·-* "going about," *-gwaso* dream, *-i·no* "person."

Their duty in this capacity was to warn of danger so that those who received the warning could employ means to ward the trouble off or to avoid it. The power of the dreamer was employed not only for individuals but for the benefit of the community. Before undertaking a hunting trip parties would induce a dreamer to lie down, go to sleep, and "look around" (*gwi·la'wąbo*).[1] By the nature of the vision which the dreamer had, the party would form its plans or alter them in case plans had been made which appeared unadvantageous from the dreamer's revelation. Dreamers, moreover, were often induced to accompany hunting or war parties in order to serve with their gifts of vision. It was only necessary for the dreamer to spend one night obtaining the answer that he desired. The informants agree that the dreamers were harmless in their behavior towards other men, they never inflicted injury, sickness, or misfortune upon rivals, as we find the *mədə'olinu* so frequently doing. They, too, were not formed into any society. Since we have very little definite knowledge of the achievements of dreamers we have to rely upon anecdotes which appear, in the opinions of modern narrators, to belong to the category of dreamer accomplishments. For instance, Newell Lion himself cited several occasions upon which he had encountered in dreams the spirit helper (*baohi''gan*) of malevolent persons. These visions he thought illustrated in some respects the mental visitations which he understood to have been so extensively relied upon by the ancient dreamers. Taking our information even at its maximum it is plain that here we have only a vestige of what must evidently have been a prominent matter of early Indian life in this region. The anecdotes which fall under this category are as follows:

Newell Lion's wife's uncle once dreamed that he was camping not far from his brother-in-law, to whom he had attributed certain ill-luck. The two did not get along well together. So this season when the hunting had become very bad, the uncle dreamed that a wolf entered the door of his wigwam. In his dream he hit the animal with a stick and it departed. Shortly after this dream a friend from his brother-in-law's camp came to ask him for some

[1] *gwi·lâo-* "to search for," *-wab-* "to see."

medicine for a sick man. It was known that only medicine given by the victor who caused the wound could cure the conquered magician. The uncle then went to his brother-in-law's camp and discovered him suffering with a severe hurt on his shoulder. Said the uncle, "Don't sneak around my camp any more!" He then gave him some medicine which subsequently cured him. If he had not given his brother-in-law the medicine the latter would have died.[1]

Newell Lion's grandmother once dreamed that she saw a dog come into her camp. The dog bit her on the elbow. When she hit the dog it fell over dead. It then presented the appearance of a certain person whom she knew. When she awoke she found that her elbow was sore and it remained so for the rest of her life. The person whose likeness she saw in the dead dog in her dream died shortly after.

Newell Lion himself claims that he dreamed of seeing a bull at the entrance of his shanty. He attacked the bull and threw it over, whereupon he recognized a certain man whom he knew to have been frequently speaking against him in the village. Upon another occasion he dreamed that a big snake attacked him. Taking a stick he struck it on the head. As it fell over and died he recognized one whom he had supposed to be a friend. When he consulted with an older man about the dream he was informed that it was a warning concerning an enemy in disguise.

[1] Four years before the above account was given by Newell Lion, Mr. Ferris took down one from him which closely follows mine, except in the last four sentences. It affords us another instance of the extent to which an informant may vary his narrative at different times.

"The uncle, however, procured an ordinary root and cured him with it. He told the man never to match his power against his and the man was glad enough to promise the same, as the uncle had given sufficient proof of his ability as a dreamer."

Mr. Ferris has the following to say in his notes on the same subject.

"The dreamer, however, had but to dream (this dream was generally always of the same type except that the animals varied as to species) of an animal coming into his wigwam or pursuing him in one way or another and to kill this animal with his club when the form of the witch-man would replace that of his "*baohi'gan.*" If the dreamer then wished it he had the power to cure the witchman upon whom he had thrown the fatal spell. As to his own experience Newell Lion spoke of two dreams that he himself had had of animals and both the men into whom they had changed when he attacked them in the dream had been his enemies and had died afterward. He stoutly disclaimed, though, that he was a dreamer."

Attean Orson was a great wrestler. He was down on the coast one time hunting seals near the upper end of Mt. Desert island. He killed quite a few seals and started for home. He camped at Hog island coming up the river. After supper he fell asleep but was soon awakened by a strange noise. His tent was knocked down and dragged away. He wondered greatly at this because at the time there was no wind. Then he rolled up his tent and put it under his head. Soon he felt himself grasped by the feet and he cried: "Who are you? Show yourself! Give me fair play!" He then felt something seize hold of him and he began to wrestle and kept it up all night. Towards morning when he had his enemy down as it became light he saw that he had been wrestling with an old wind-fall. Orson said that whenever he hit the spirit in his fight it would hit him back in the same place. He always claimed that this was an experience with someone's *baohi''gan* and that he had fought through and conquered.[1]

Lion, to whom this story had been related by the hero himself, alleged that Orson must have had a nightmare in the first place and then must have become so frightened that he had fought for a while with himself. Orson's interpretation of the event, however, as an experience with a *baohi''gan* in the guise of a wind-fall, is what interests us.[2]

Probably nearly all the modern accounts of *baohi''gan* deeds are based upon dream experiences like the last few tales. And it may be too that much weight should for this reason be given to dream experiences as an explanation of the whole fabric of recent shamanistic lore.

We have another instance of the operation of maleficent magic through dream action in the following.[3] Mary Paul, daughter of

[1] Charles Daylight, a Penobscot, also narrates a version of this tale in which the antagonist, during the night, promised the man unlimited worldly power if he would stop, but the offer was not accepted.

[2] A remarkably similar anecdote is given by C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England;* Boston, 1884, pp. 348–9, related to him by a Passamaquoddy, Tomah Josephs. The hero of the tale fought all night with what he thought was a ghost which appeared in the form of a moss covered log the next morning. He acquired magic power by his contest.

[3] A Malecite incident related by the chief character's brother, G. A. Paul.

Andrew Paul, of Kingsclear, New Brunswick, received a proposal of marriage accompanied by the wampum message from a young man whom she refused. Soon afterward becoming afflicted with sore throat she laid the blame upon the disappointed man. Subsequently her father dreamed that this man entered his camp, upon which he seized a stick and struck him with it. A few days after it was learned that this man had received a hurt in the head. The incidents governed by the native concept in such a case became associated in the minds of those concerned and the two families became unfriendly.

The neighboring tribes (Micmac,[1] Malecite, Passamaquoddy,[2] Abenaki[3]) as may be expected, seem to show similar characteristics

[1] Leclercq (1691) says of the Micmac "Our Gaspesians are still so credulous about dreams that they yield easily to everything which their imagination or the Devil puts into their heads when sleeping and this is so much the case among them that dreams will make them come to conclusions upon a given subject quite contrary to those which they had earlier formed. Chr. Leclercq, "New Relation of Gaspesia," *Edition of the Champlain Society*, Toronto, 1910, by W. F. Ganong, p. 227. Also (*ibid.*, p. 216), "They imagine also that their jugglers can know from their Devil whom they call *Ouahich* (possibly *waitci'tc* "little beast" meaning an animal helper) the best places for hunting, and that all the dreams of these imposters are just so many revelations and prophecies." . . . and again, on page 223, "Some of these jugglers also meddle with predictions of future affairs and in such a way that if their predictions are found correct, as happens sometimes by chance, they derive credit and reputation from this fact." S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, Boston, 1881, p. 139, narrates a tale of how a hunter dreams of trouble at home and returns to find that the Mohawks have attacked his family.

The Micmac employ two terms to designate the dreamer, *ne'bədi'deuk*, "clairvoyant," and *nudji'bu'wat* "dreamer."

[2] Cf. C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, Boston, 1884, pp. 343–5, where a talk is given in which a young man wished to acquire this power of dreaming for luck. He was told to test himself by living in abstinence for a while with a virgin. He did so and acquired the power to divine all things by dreams when he slept on a magic bear's skin. He could tell where to find good hunting and fishing. He foredreamed war with the Mohawk. Stones in the forest are thought to give power to dream. One informant claimed to have dreamed that he saw magicians dive under the water from one island to another (p. 345). (Malecite, *ki'u'kwa'sowi'no.*)

[3] Cf. Abbè Maurault, *Histoire des Abenakis*, Quebec, 1866, p. 122. "They had jugglers who could foretell good or bad fortune by messages from the spirits . . .," *ibid.*, p. 125. "The shamans had a way of predicting that such or such a person or party would have bad fortune by falling into the hands of the Iroquois. Thus they won their prestige as prophets," *ibid.*, p. 29. Conjurers had the "power to predict good and bad weather, good or bad fortune in hunting, the mishaps which will happen on a journey, the result of a campaign and a thousand other things."

in respect to the dreamers as those which stand forth among the Penobscot. The accounts of dream functionaries in earlier literary sources fall in well with what we learn from modern informants on the subject, as may be seen. The older authorities do not contain much that is not obtainable even today, while in what they do give there is nothing contradictory to the modern material.

The absence of organization as an artificial social unit is a noteworthy feature here and the same is true of the Naskapi and Montagnais, while in the provinces of the Central Algonkian and on the Plains the dreamers seem to have constituted groups of ceremonialists. The situation in the far east in respect to the dreamers resembles that already discussed in the case of the shamans. This is true of the tribes both north and south of the St. Lawrence. For instance, among the Naskapi[1] and the Montagnais, who are the most remote from the area where organized ceremonial groups prevail, the dreamers and shamans are purely individualists. The eastern Cree[2] seems to be the first group, passing toward the west, where the graded society of shamans of the Midewin type occurs.

The Older Algonkian Shamanism

Concerning shamanism in the northeast, no striking cases of similarity either in name or in function have been recorded among the Algonkian tribes outside of the immediate area of the related group. The form content of the various types of magical practice, while it is fairly uniform throughout the whole Algonkian area seems to have its parts distributed rather unequally among the different tribes. In the east, among the Wabanaki, the magicians do not form the constituents of a society group, as is the

[1] "They are also guided to a great extent by their dreams, for they imagine that in the night they are in direct communications with the spirits which watch over their daily occupations. Certain persons obtain much renown in divining the dreams and these are consulted with the greatest confidence. The drum is brought into use, and during its tumult the person passes into a state of stupor or trance and in a few moments arouses himself to reveal the meaning of the other's dream. L. M. Turner, "Ethnology of the Ungava District," *Eleventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, p. 272.

[2] Cf. A. B. Skinner, "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux," *Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. IX, part I (1911), p. 63, 67, for dream functions.

case among the central tribes. In the east there are only two orders of magicians, in the central area there are from three (Ojibwa) to six (Menomini[1]). In the east the magician of the one kind performs jugglery, inflicts injury, removes injury, cures illness, fights rivals and operates to carry out his arbitrary intentions through the aid of an animal spirit helper. In the central region these activities are divided among different kinds of performers who are ordinarily organized into separate societies, and then in addition the functions of the animal helpers are much specialized or limited. In short, as respects shamanism, the eastern tribes show a lack of socialization, a lack of specialization in function.

Although the present state of disorganization may be due to culture degeneracy it seems nevertheless to be a rather genuine quality of the ethnology of the region, because we do not encounter mention of more elaborate ceremonies in the early records. It should be remembered also that our informants' knowledge dates back about 60 years to a period when native life was much more intact.

The supposition that we have an old Algonkian feature in the individualistic character of shamanism in the north and northeast is in harmony with the explanation, given by Dr. Wissler, of certain circumstances in connection with the shamanistic cults of the Plains area. Here, among the Algonkian tribes of the Plains, the cult-like associations of shamanism are "conspicuously absent, shamanism being less intense and entirely individualistic."[2] In the Plains area the cult-like organizations are shown by Wissler and Lowie to be probable diffusions from a culture-trait center which have reached the more remote tribes only in part, or in some cases not at all. Subsequent study may show that a similar relationship exists between the Central Algonkian, on the one hand and the northern and northeastern branches of the stock on the other as respects shamanistic cults. The central tribes possess an

[1] Cf. A. B. Skinner, "Associations and Ceremonies of the Menomini Indians," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. XIII, part II (1915).

[2] Cf. Clark Wissler, "Societies of the Plains Indians," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. XI (1916), p. 858.

organization (Midewin) which has evidently developed from the cohesion of diffused culture elements. Yet outside of and dissociated from this organization two professional classes of shamans (Wabanu and Djesakid) occur in practically all the tribes of the group.[1] In such a case we might form an idea, in an attempt at explanation, that shamanism was originally individualistic in character among the old Algonkian, at a time prior to the appearance of the Midewin as an organization.

It would be a mistake to overlook the opportunity at this time of making a few comparisons between shamanism in this region and the practices in the better-known surrounding culture areas. The northeastern Algonkian material is noticeably disparate from Iroquois shamanistic practices, so we are left to compare its elements, treating the whole northeast as an areal unit, with the practices of the Central Algonkian on the one hand and the Eskimo on the north. The correspondences with Central Algonkian shamanism are indeed no more striking than are those with Eskimo shamanism, which unavoidably means something in the latter case. In the first place the shamanistic societies of the central region are lacking in the northeast, as they are also among the Eskimo. Shamans operate less with magic paraphernalia and more with animal spirit helpers among both the northeastern tribes and the Eskimo than among the central tribes where "medicine-bundle" influence seems to be strong. Aside from negativism there are some positive analogues in shamanistic tricks among the northeastern tribes and the Eskimo. Surveying, for instance, the conjurer's performances

[1] A. B. Skinner, "Political and Ceremonial Organization of the Plains Ojibway," *ibid.*, p. 505, and "Associations and Societies of the Menomini Indians," *ibid.*, vol. XIII (1915), p. 191, and "A Comparative Sketch of the Menomini," *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. XIII (1911), no. 4, p. 561, and particularly Wm. Jones, "The Central Algonkin," *Annual Archeological Report of Ontario* (1905), pp. 135, 146. There is considerable significance in this connection with Dr. Radin's interpretative analysis of Midewin initiation ceremonies among the central tribes. "It is evidently a formal transfer of shamanistic powers from one individual to another, which has subsequently become synonymous with admission into the social status of a mide and then with admission into a society." Cf. Paul Radin, "The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXIV, no. XCII (1911), p. 186. Shamanistic individualism is associated with the absence of ritualism, as a feature of primitiveness by Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, 1917, p. 188–9.

of this region, a noticeable portion are recorded in similar form by various authors dealing with the Eskimo. The following are a few; stamping feet into ice or stone, lifting a heavy rock, rendering one's self invisible, causing a heavy object to float, remaining under water, fatal pointing with the finger, diminishing one's size, miraculous wrestling, foretelling the future, and other less striking parallels.

Eskimo angakok tricks not occurring among the northeastern tribes are, the changing of sex, tearing the skin from the face, submitting to decapitation and burning, and divination by head lifting.

Turning from the northeast toward the central area the following features are common to both, shaman fights by proxy, prophesying through visions and dreams, the overpowering voice, and some others, while the fire trick and the sword swallowing trick common in the central area do not occur in the northeast.

There are three possible ways of explaining these Eskimo-Algonkian correspondences.[1] (1) The features could have been acquired by borrowing from the Eskimo if we assume Algonkian invaders to have experienced a period of contact with earlier Eskimo inhabitants. (2) The features could have been independently conceived by the two groups, the similarities resulting from convergent steps in their development. (3) They could have been borrowed by the Eskimo from the Indians. The two latter possibilities in this case are hardly to be considered probable. The first, however, appeals much more to reason. The analogous tricks are widely known among the Eskimo, even among those of Greenland who have had no direct contact with Indians, and consequently may have constituted old Eskimo property. In general, assuming the Indians to have killed off the Eskimo, if there were any on the Canadian maritime coast, at some early time, the relics of their culture could only have persisted among the surviving Indians and their descendants.

Although much more detailed material is awaited concerning

[1] Incidentally it may be noted that significant ethnological similarities are by no means restricted to shamanism when alone Eskimo and northeastern Indian culture are compared.

the tribes north of the St. Lawrence as well as the others of the Wabanaki group it seems to me that almost enough has already been accumulated and presented to show that the circumstances here of simplicity and the individualistic character of shamanism are real qualities in the ethnology of this region.

Corresponding simplicity and individualism together characterize the institution of shamanism among the tribes north of the St. Lawrence. Thus both these extreme eastern regions, which are equally remote from contact with the more complex and more ceremonialized Central Algonkian tribes, we find to be noteworthy for the same elementary simplicity and lack of organization. There are two ways in which the contrast between the northeastern and the central phases of culture may be looked at. On the other hand assuming a process of degeneration to account for present states, we may attempt to trace the eastern conditions backward to a former more elaborate stage comparable perhaps to that which flourished among the tribes of the central group. Let us briefly review this possibility. There is something to favor such an assumption in the facts of history and geographical association, for we know through local tradition that the Montagnais and Naskapi are immigrants from the west to the northeast[1] and we have reason to credit a similar Wabanaki claim that their predecessors came from farther west. Thus there appears to have been a two-fold, possibly a bifurcated drift, down the St. Lawrence basin from the central regions, one stream penetrating the country north of its shores, and the other covering the region of its southern water-shed to the ocean. The culture gradations among the Algonkian from the Atlantic coast on the east to the central lake region may be explained if one choose to do so, by assuming a process of deculturation as migration proceeded from the central region eastward toward the north Atlantic coast.

There is, however, still the other attitude toward the situation; one that accepts the evidence of simplicity in culture as natural,

[1] Such a tradition is current among the Montagnais generally and it is confirmed by the testimony recorded in the *Jesuit Relations* which deal with the tribes of eastern Quebec

representative of a more elementary type. In this case we would interpret conditions here by inferring that the eastern tribes have retained a form of simple primitive culture which the central tribes have outgrown, or perhaps which the latter have lost through the acquisition of a higher, more formal one resulting from contact with superior culture forces. The likelihood of the eastern emigration of the Algonkian does not pose as a strong objection in this case because such a migration at an early time would have served to remove part of the primitive Algonkian group from the range of outside culture influence and left this body as the conserver of simple culture by reason of its self-isolation. In this case, going from east to west, we should expect to find the culture gradations just spoken of and besides this a certain local individuality in customs due to the irregularity of tribal developments when they are progressing from a simple nascent stage through the various periods of growth congenial to their circumstances. We do find these variations in many minor respects of culture, from tribe to tribe in the group, so much so in some ethnological topics that the differences would be natural to tribes which are widely separated instead of to neighbors as is the case in some respects among the Penobscot, Malecite, and Micmac.

Local variations are considerably less in the Montagnais-Naskapi group north of the St. Lawrence, the more marked uniformity here being plausibly an evidence of a more recent dispersion from the earlier culture center. There is ample historical ground for this idea because within historic times the Montagnais have expelled the Eskimo from the St. Lawrence coast and have themselves been pressed upon by the Iroquois. The Wabanaki group on the other hand has been resident where we find it located for some time prior to the opening of the historical period since we have no records here of extensive tribal movements. Hence, it would seem, these bodies have had a longer period of stability in which to develop local minor differences.

On the whole the second possibility appeals more strongly to my mind as a means of explanation than the first. In this case simplicity, lack of complex social, religious and ceremonial organization,

limited nomadism, subsistence by hunting and fishing, no agriculture and a crude technology, are together the earmarks of a relatively unaffected older Algonkian type of culture. In the neighboring Eskimo region a somewhat similar situation prevails, as is shown by Dr. Boas. The Central Eskimo are more primitive, more isolated and simpler in culture than those of Alaska whose advancement in social ceremonial and industrial complexity is partially due to contact with the organized culture of the Northwest Coast tribes. As applied to human culture, moreover, the assumption that progressive growth from the simple to the complex is more natural and normal than retrogression, logically requires less proof than the opposite, making proper allowances, to be sure, for historical fluctuations.

Texts of Some Shamanistic Tales in the Wabanaki Dialects

The following tales in several of the original dialects will convey a proper idea of the character of the specific narrative dealing with the deeds of shamans. They have been selected from the writer's collections of mythological texts in the dialects of the northeast. Several tales recorded in English are also added.

The system of transcription used is that recommended by the Committee of the American Anthropological Association, *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications*, vol. 66, pp. 120–6 (1916).

Phonetic Note

a, as in *father*, of medium length.
*a*ˑ, lengthened.
e, open medium about as *e* in *met*. In Wawenock this sound is still more open, approaching the next vowel (*ɛ*ˑ) in value.
*ɛ*ˑ, long open *e*, as in North German *Bär*.
*e*ˑ, close and long as *a* in *say*.
i, short as in *pin*.
*i*ˑ, long and close as *ee* in *queen*.
o, close, medium in length.
*ɔ*ˑ, close and longer with more protruding lips.
u, like *oo* in *boot*.
*u*ˑ, long with protruded lips.
ɑ, dulled form of short *a*, like *u* of English *but*.

e, short obscure vowel of uncertain quality like *e* in *flower*.

b-*p*, bilabial stops.
d-*t*, alvoelar stops, no lingual-dental contact.
g-*k*, medial palatal stops.
s-*z*, dorsal sibilants.
} Varying between true sonant and intermediate surd-sonant.

tc and *dj*, surd and sonant affricatives correspond in Penobscot respectively to English *ch* and *j*. In St. Francis Abenaki these sounds are like English *ts* and *dz*.

m, as in English.

n,

ŋ, palatal nasal like *ng* of English *sing*.

l, as in English.

l̥, crossed *l*, soft lateral surd, tongue tip and alveolar contact, preceded and accompanied by aspiration. The effect of this sound is approximated by condensing vowel followed by aspiration and *l*; (*i'la*).

h,
w,
y,
} as in English.

ą, *ǫ*, *ą̇*, nasalized vowel.

ʿ, aspiration following vowel or consonant.

ˈ, accent stress, ˋ secondary accent.

·, a dot following denotes vowel or consonant lengthening.

1. *The Trial-Contest Meetings of the Magicians* (Penobscot)

Bo'skiˑ nąwat *məde'oliˑ nawak* *nąˑ'djiˑ* *agwetʿhanˑdo'ldowak*
Occasionally long ago magicians went trying their magic power

nəgwa'zəbemuk *piˑgwa'duk* *tandj udliˑ'giˑziˑ* *waniˑhalzo'ldiˑnąˑ*
to the lake. "Abundance of Game"[1] how at last could they disappear and escape

kmipʿhagwa'loden *aoˑ'diˑmge* *kadiˑseʿka'wode* *ne'dudjiˑ* *a'eda*
if they were pursued in war about to be defeated. So then a'eda

na'nagwutc *kamgwiˑ'gədaho* *tcawaʿpiˑ'gədaho* *mu'skiˑde* *eliˑgiˑ'ziˑ*
some dove into the water jumped into the water emerging how could

kwulbiˑha'lzu *kiˑ'uniˑge* *ntciˑgəda'k* *ukamgwiˑ'gədahin* *muskte'siˑge*
change himself into otter and others dove into the water when emerging

aliˑgwulbiˑha'lzu *məde'wiˑle* *ntciˑgəda'k* *ukamgwiˑ'gədahin* *muskte'siˑge*
how change himself into loon and others dove into the water when emerging

eliˑgiˑziˑgwulbiˑha'lzu *muskweˑ'sˑu* *ntciˑgəda'k* *eliˑgiˑziˑgwulbiˑha'lzu*
how could change himself into muskrat and others how could change himself into

təmaˑ'kwe *ntciˑgəda'k* *ukamgwiˑ'gədahin* *muskte'siˑge* *eliˑgwulbiˑha'lzu*
beaver and others dove into the water when emerging how change himself into

[1] Now known as Pushaw Lake.

mu'zebe'ʃ'u' uli'dəhazo'ldowak eli'gi''zi' təbi''notłə'di'hi'dit el'han'-
mink. They rejoiced how could they display [to each other] such

dol'di'hi'dit.
they perform magic.

Free Translation

Occasionally long ago the shamans were accustomed to go to Pushaw (Pi'gwa'duk) Lake to test their magic power. One of their performances was to cause themselves to disappear as they would do if they were defeated by an enemy and forced to escape by flight. Some of them would indeed, dive into the water and emerge after having been transformed into otters, others into loons, muskrats, beavers, and minks. They rejoiced in being thus able to display to each other how they could perform magic acts.

2. *Two Spies Change Themselves into Animals and Escape from the Iroquois* (Penobscot)

Nąwa't ni''zwak ski'no''sak nadawəhewi''n'owak ta'gwi't'e
Long ago two young men spy men both indeed

ktahα'n'dowak unąʼdji' unada'uhąna Megwai wa'kąʼlozən məzi''
great magicians went [to] they spy into Iroquois stockade all

ugi''zi' nadauhąda'mənα wedji''tc gi'zi'' se'kawa'dit me'gwa'
they could they investigated so that could they defeat the Iroquois.

nonadəgwa''si'nąʼ edali mαgwąʼgwek skamo'ni'bagwul nogəządegwa''si'nąʼ
Then they went to sleep where on a heap corn husks then they overslept.

ma'lam saŋkhi''le gi''zo's sala''ki' mαskwa'ląmit me'gwe nodo'ki''mgwonąʼ
Then rose the sun suddenly whooping Iroquois, they they awoke

nodąme'ke'gəda'hi'nąʼ uda'dəbi'gwe'nsi'nąʼ malα'm ki''zi' ąŋgawi'ha'zowak
and jumped up they rolled themselves down out of sight. Then after they were out of sight

nogwulbi'ha'lzi'nąʼ awe''sus pe'sego kəda'k tci'ma'lsəm ma'ni'
then they transformed themselves into bear one man the other panther thereupon a "big wolf" [1]

ogwil'da'wona me'gwal gi'ze'lmipho'weli't odji' mαndje'kąwa'di'nąʼ
they rushed upon the Iroquois after running away from they left

ke'nuk məsi'' ugi'zą'bada'mənąʼ elalok'ha'di'mαk tane'dudji' gwi'lda'-
but all they had looked it over what they would do whenever they would

mohodit wa'kąʼlozən.
charge upon the stockade.

Free Translation

Long ago there were two young men who acted as spies. Both were indeed great magicians. They went to spy about an Iroquois stockade so that they could overcome the Iroquois. After having

[1] The ordinary term for panther is *bi''tα'lu* "long tail." The animal is now unknown to these tribes except by hearsay.

done what they intended they went to sleep upon a pile of corn husks, and they overslept. When the sun arose suddenly the Iroquois began whooping and the young men awoke, jumped up and rolled themselves down the other side out of sight. Being thereupon out of sight of the enemy they transformed themselves, one into a bear, the other into a panther. The Iroquois then rushed upon them but they had run away. To be sure they left the place but they had looked it all over and they knew what could best be done when it was time to attack the stockade.

3. *A Magicians' Contest at Neseik* (Penobscot)

Nąwa't ni''zwak ktci·mǝde'olinowak udao'di·nα pe'sǝgo ali''wizo.
Long ago two great magicians they fought one was called

ktci·asą's Nep'tαn[1] *kǝda'k Plansi·s Sosep Nep'tαn udawe'kαhą'nα*
Big John Neptune the other Francis Joseph Neptune they employed

ubaohi·ga'nu nǝgwa'zǝbemuk udali·pǝna'ldi·nq nǝgwa'zǝbemuk
their spirit helpers. In a lake there they fought in the lake.

ktci·naha'mu naga ktci· wi·wi''lyamek'ʷ edudji· sa·''gi·pǝna'ldi·hi·dit
Big eel and big snail so hard they fought

e'bǝgwa'tc nǝgwa'zǝbem mǝzi·' unǝs·e'po'dunq e'skwat·e ni·''kwup'
on account of it the lake all they riled up even yet now

nse·''gǝn nαnǝgwa'zǝbem e'bǝgwa'tc ni·''kwup' ali·wi·''tqzu
it is riley that lake on account of it now it is so called

ne''segǝk.[2]
Riley [Lake].

The informant added that this fight was a draw; Old John Neptune was a familiar character at Oldtown for many years.

Free Translation

Long ago two great shamans engaged in a fight. One was named Big John Neptune, the other Francis Joseph Neptune. They both employed their spiritual helpers. They fought in a lake the (spiritual helpers) big eel and the big snail. They fought so hard that on account of it the lake became all riled up and even to this day that lake is still riley and for this reason is called "Riley Lake."

Another version of this same story was obtained by Mr. Ferris from Newell Lion in 1914 while he was in Philadelphia. As duplicate versions of tales told by the same person at different times

[1] This man was a Penobscot, his antagonist a Passamaquoddy.

[2] The lake is now known by its Passamaquoddy cognate *Ne''se·ik* "riley [lake]."

are interesting as specimens of variation in oral literature, the following is given as it appears in Mr. Ferris' notes.

There was much rivalry between the witch men as to whose *baohi''gan* was the strongest. One time a Passamaquoddy Indian said to John Neptune that he had a *baohi''gan*, an immense horned snail as large as a mountain, and he challenged John Neptune's eel to fight it. The contest was arranged and took place in the lake where the eel lived. It was fast and furious and the eel finally proved himself the victor. To this day the lake is muddy particularly when the wind blows and churns up its waters.

A Passamaquoddy version, giving the tale from another point of view, is furnished by C. G. Leland (*Algonquin Legends of New England*, pp. 346–7). Old John Neptune (whom Leland mentions under the initials J. N.) goes out to fight a snail. The incidents given are different from those which we have. The disturbance of the lake is an incident in this version. J. D. Prince (*Proceedings, American Philosophical Society* (1899), no. 160, p. 184), records in text a short Passamaquoddy cognate, in which the elements are again different.

Old Joe Benoit, the wizard, changed himself into a big turtle. He had quarreled with another man. The latter changed himself into a great serpent. The wizards fought together at Nēsēyik. After the fighting, the lake was all stirred up.

4. *wdɑ'psɑk*,[1] *Skull Place* (St. Francis Abenaki)

sala''ki·wi· oba'yana pi'lwi· Magwa'k[2] *oba'yana wa'dji· nɑndji·'*
Once there came strange Mohawks came for the purpose

mata·n'di·t wɔ·ba'nakia'. ma''ɔwi. ki·ni·ma'khadi·ñ na'gwa ba'zugu
of killing Abenaki. At that time [there was] a great dance and one

ma'gwa gu'tmɑŋgi·da'mą wɔ·ba'nakia''. nagwa· awa'dji· a'ndokawant
Mohawk felt pity for the Abenaki and so he told

a'lnombai phanɑmu' wa'dji· bu'lowadi·t ale·' a'gwa sɑ'kwoza'di·t
an Indian woman to run away when ever they appeared

ma'gwak. na'gwa naodji·' anda' wu''lumawalmo'nɑ ni·''nda bu''lwaonɑ'
the Mohawks. And despite this not believe her these not would ran away

yu''gik msi·''wi· nda bu'lwakwi·k madji'nłɑnɑ. na'gwa mst''wi u'dnɑ'mi·nɑ
these all not ran away were killed. And all took

ki''nɑŋgana' ni·u'bi·kagna'ktonɑ si·bu''si·za'k wadji· wski·du''sa·di·t
cradle boards they laid them in the little creek so that they could cross over.

[1] Narrated by Maude Benedict at Lake George, New York, 1907. This is the name of an island in the St. Lawrence river near Montreal where the story is believed to have actually occurred. For another version cf. C. G. Leland and J. D. Prince, *Kuloskap The Master*, pp. 244–9.

[2] Said to refer to the eastern Mohawks, *i. e.*, those of Caughnawaga.

nagodji·' *ni·u·'mandji·'nɑ* *ma'gwak* *madji·'nlɑndi·'t* *wɔ·ba'nakia'.* *na'go*
After this they went away, the Mohawks, having killed the Abenaki. Then
wikwusa'nɑ *wdɑ'psɑk* *ni·ni·'* *udusuku·'miną.* *na'gwa* *o'mbadi·ale·di·t*
they camped at Skull Place there they camped for the night. And then returned from the hunt
wɔ·ba'nakia·k *ni·ło·'nɑ·* *ga's·i·'ŋlomɑk* *uda'dalno'mbamų.* *nago'dji·*
the Abenakis they were told how many were killed of their people. Thereupon
ulondji'di·t *wa'dji·* *nusuka'wandi·t* *magwa'.* *nagoda'yin* *ba'zugu*
they prepared to follow the Mohawks. And there was certain one
mdau'linu'[1] *nagwa'na* *gwi·la'ombiŋ* *wa'dji·* *wawa'ldamondi·t* *do'ni*
shaman and he sought (by conjuring) to know where
wikusa'di·t *magwa'k.* *nago* *mdau'linu'* *unami·ɑ'n* *alemsiwi·'* *kawɑl-*
camped the Mohawks. And the shaman saw how (they) all were
di·di·'t *na'gwo* *odjä'gɑma* *pka'gɑnt* *ni·wa'dji·* *la'mbasɑ'k* *msi·'wi·*
sleeping and he went out across so as to cut open all
wigwa'olał *nagwozi·bi'wi·* *gada'gik* *wɔ·ba'nakia'k* *pka'gǫ* *di·t* *ɑ'ni·*
their bark canoes. And thereupon the others Abenaki crossed over there
ma'tci· *msi·'wi·* *ło·'nɑ* *i'li·gawi·di·dɑ'p* *ma'gwak.* *na'gwa* *i·bíwi·*
killed all (killed) them as they were sleeping the Mohawks. And only
ba'zɑgowa' *nugudji·ta'ną* *magwa'* *nágwani·* *gadji·* *tɑ'wagwa'zanɑ.*
one they spared a Mohawk. And then off they cut his ears.
ni·udji·ni·' *di·ła'nɑ* *wa'dji·* *mɑndji·'t* *ni·udɑndji·mi·'ŋ* *ale'msiwi·*
After this they told him to go away and tell abroad how all
madɑ'mak *udalno'mbamɑ'.*
had been put his people.
an end to

Free Translation[2]

Once upon a time strange Mohawk came for the purpose of killing the Abenaki. A great dance was going on at the time. One of the Mohawk took pity on the Abenaki and he told an Abenaki woman about it and warned her to run away when the Mohawk appeared. Despite this warning the other Abenaki would

[1] Among other things, the conjuror was able to transfer himself from one place to another in the guise of an animal which served him as a guardian and helper.

[2] Another Abenaki (St. Francis) version is given by J. D. Prince (*Kuloskap, The Master*, by C. G. Leland and J. D. Prince, p. 244). Here the scout assumes the guise of a beaver; the rest of the tale corresponds very closely to the above.

There may be some historical foundation for this legend. A. Maurault records an event, in the war between the Abenaki and the Iroquois, which took place about 1695. (Cf. A. Maurault, *op. cit.*, pp. 201 and 230.) He records that a war party of Mohawk camped on an island in Lake Champlain. They were discovered by some Abenaki whose scout (shaman?) cut their canoes. The Iroquois were then attacked and killed. It happened that the Iroquois had been cooking a bull's head over their fire so the place was named "*Otepsek* island of the head" (A. Maurault, p. 231). Maurault thinks that Charlevoix must have known the tale for he has the island marked on his map of Lake Champlain as "d'ile aux têtes."

not believe her when she told them and would not run away. All those who did not were accordingly killed. The Mohawk took all their cradle-boards and laid them in the bed of a little creek so that they could cross over. Then after having killed the Abenaki the Mohawk departed. They lodged that night at "Skull Place" where they camped. Later when the rest of the Abenaki returned from the hunt they were told how that many of their people had been killed. They at once prepared to follow the Mohawk. Among them was a certain shaman and he conjured and learned where the Mohawk had camped. The shaman also saw how they all were sleeping and he went across to where they were and cut open all their bark canoes. Thereupon the other Abenaki crossed over and killed all the Mohawk while they were sleeping. Only one Mohawk was spared. They cut off his ears and told him to go forth and tell abroad how all his people had been put to death.

5. *How Sorcerers Originated Wampum* (Wawenock)[1]

Tanł awe'i· aida' dane'dudji bodawa'zi·mak' ni·nawa' utai·nᾳ' mədə'-oli·nowa`k ni·dani·' ekwampsa·'nəhi·di·`t` yu'gik mədeolinowa'k. ni·uda'li wewela'n aweni·' mliksani·da' ni·gizi·' bodawazi·ma'k ni·ubəs·kwə-etamanᾳ' ni·udam`hadi'n ni·wa' ktci·mədeolinu' gesta' pkwudetama'nt ni·wɔ·bᾳ'bi. so'gahazo` wudji·' wudona'k wɔ·bi·ga'k ni·wa' mədeolinu' tebᾳbwi·wi.' edutsani.'t niwɔ·bᾳbi'm ebas·i·wi·' wɔ·bi·ga·n si·bi·wi·' ebas·i·wi·' elwemkwi·ga'n ni·wa' nodas·ani'l mədeolinu' nelawe' mkazewi·gə'n wɔ·bᾳbi'n ni·nawa' yugi·'k mədeolinowa'k tanyu'gədji· sekɔ'si·dji`k ni·gi·gədji·' peme'ltodetci` wɔ·bᾳbi' ki·zi·wəda'mhadi·hi·di·da mədə'oli-nowak ni·tᾳlawe'i· kadawi·' wələs·tᾳ wᾳ'di·hi·di·de` yugi'k ni·zɔk·ani·'gəso-wa`k ni·wə tambenkek·tona' wɔ·bᾳbi·' ni·l·a'mpskahᾳzu` kədəgwabi·zu'n ni·dala'mpskəhᾳzu' ni·zno'l wɔldji·a'l· eli·danławei·' gi·zi·' wələ's·tawᾳdə-hidi·`t nda'tama mədᾳbe'k`w nda'tci· gadona'ldi·wi·a`k ni·askami·wi·' ni·a'tci· nimsi· wi·'.

Literal Translation

Accordingly whenever a council was held, sorcerers were there. And according to the strength of their power, it could be known which were the most powerful. After the council was finished they lighted pipes, and they all smoked. Then the greatest sorcerer among them, every time he would light his pipe, would cause

[1] Narrated at Becancour, P. Q., by Francois Neptune, 1913.

wampum to fall from his mouth. The most powerful produced white, he of middling power his wampum was half white and half reddish, and the least powerful sorcerer, his wampum was almost black.[1] So then among these sorcerers he would be the winner who among them would have produced the most wampum when he smoked his pipe. Accordingly whenever two nations wanted to make a treaty they gave as a payment, the beads worked into a belt with two hands embroidered on it, meaning that they had agreed to no more war and that forever they would never hunt one another again. And that is all.

A Shaman Discovered in Bird Form (Penobscot)

Be'zəgwəda ni''zwi'ek us'agi''a'kwɑmalsu ni'be'bi''tawɑn
Once my wife became very sick. I sat up with her

nəbedji'ga'duksin nəge'wi'a elgwa''si'a ki'' sala''kit'e mɑt'gami'gi''pode
then I fell asleep. While I slept dreaming ki.' suddenly ground heaved

ma'n'aba təgu' pąb'mi'' wi''wuni'lą'de eda'li' a''kwɑma'lsit
like wave moving up and down going around. Where the sick one [lay]

ni''zwi'ek neląbi'a'' si''psi's pebɑmi''dəwi''łɑt alɑmka'mi'gwe ndi''łɑn
my wife then I looked bird flying up and down under ground. I said

e'kwi'gą'lzi' kəna'mi'hul gi's moski'a'zi gi's kəna'mi'hul ki'a
"don't hide yourself I see you already" he emerged "already I see you you

nela'lo'kɑn we'dji' a'kwɑ'malsit ni''zwi'ek' en'ekwąbədo'nka nəb'mi''
doing this so that she is sick my wife." As I said this moving up and down

moski''posi nna'ste ume''tci'nɑ nəndo''ki'hazin to'ki''la mewi'ama'lsu
he emerged; soon he died then I felt myself to waken. When awake felt better

ni''zwi'ek' ne'bəgwa uga''win nɑ'i'e askɑ'mat we'lɑyusit.
my wife on account of it she slept at once entirely she recovered.

Free Translation

Once when my wife was sick, I sat up with her and soon fell asleep. While sleeping I dreamed that the ground suddenly began to heave like a wave, rising and falling round and round near where the sick one, my wife, lay. Then I saw the movement of a bird[2] flying about under the ground and I said, "Don't hide yourself, I have seen you." The bird emerged. "I have seen you already.

[1] Some old woman would come and catch it in her lap when it fell from the sorcerers' mouths.

[2] The informant said that this was a red bird, possibly the scarlet tanager (*Piranga erythromelas*).

You were doing this while my wife was sick." As I said this fluttering he (the bird) came out and died. Then I woke up. When I awoke my wife felt better and fell asleep right away. She got completely well.

The Shaman in Spider Form (Penobscot)

Be'səgwəda ge'wi'a e'lgwa'si'a Tco'meli' nadɑ'ŋgwus gi'sɑŋkwa'sit
"Once while I was asleep dreaming Joe Mary my cousin cooking
edali'na'mi'hɑn ka't'ko'kuk ktaha'n'do aməsla'bik'e[1] *me''tci'ne nodawi'k'-*
there I saw in kettle great magic spider dead." Then he
hama'wɑn wa'dɑŋk'wsal elgwa''sit nodado''kewɑn udi''łɑn koli'dəbi'-
wrote him his cousin what he dreamt then he told him he said "You
na'wɑn kəda'tawɑŋkwa'zudi tci'ba'dok t'e kdali'na'mi'hɑn aməslabi''k'e
examine well your cooking vessel perhaps then there you will see spider."

Free Translation

"Once when I slept I dreamt that Joe Mali, my cousin, was cooking. Then I saw in the kettle a great magic spider lying dead."[2] In the meantime his cousin wrote a letter to him, telling him what he had dreamt, and he said, "You examine well the kettle in which you cook your food. Perhaps you will see a spider." (This letter was a fore-warning of the spider incident. Had he eaten the food he thinks that he would have been poisoned by it.)

The Shaman Disguised as a Porcupine (Penobscot)

A hunter and his partner were once away up the river trapping. They set their traps everywhere but had bad luck. When they looked after the traps they always found them sprung but couldn't find the cause. So one night they were sitting around their camp talking about their bad luck when they heard a noise outside and lo, there was a porcupine looking right in at them with a face like a man's. When he saw them staring at him the porcupine made off. Pretty soon the hunters heard another noise on the outside of their wigwam and looking up through the smoke-hole, beheld there the same porcupine peering down. Now they could see its place and it was the face of a man in their village. The older hunter took a big stick and threw it at the porcupine. It hit him in the face and

[1] Literally "net weaver."

[2] Newell Lion quoting old Joe Glossian.

he tumbled off and made away into the woods. "Now," said the hunter, "we will have good luck after this." That was a shaman. When they next visited their traps they found a good catch, and their luck continued good. When they got home they told their story and discovered that a certain man in the village had, as he claimed, met with an accident. He had his face disfigured. The hunters went up to see him and found that his face was broken just where he had been hit with the big stick.

A Dreamer Assumes the Form of a Ball of Fire[1] (Penobscot)

An old man and his son went hunting. His wife and daughter-in-law did not like to stay at home so they went with him. They built their camp out of boughs and made a fire in the midst of a shelter. The father and son went out hunting and left the women at the camp alone. They were to be back in three days, but at the end of three days they did not return. The son's wife got weary and did not know what kept them so long, since it was four or five days since they had gone. That night the mother-in-law who was very fond of smoking lay down near the fire to smoke. Her daughter-in-law was lying in one corner of the camp on the boughs. The old woman told the younger that she was going to sleep and dream about where the men were, and what they were doing. When she finished smoking she lay on her back. Finally the young woman saw a ball of fire come out of her mouth. She became very frightened. She jumped up and tried to arouse the old woman, she turned her on her side and shook her. Then she believed the old woman to be dead. The ball of fire that came from the old woman's mouth went round and round the camp and around the old woman. The young woman turned her over again and when she did so the ball of fire went back into the old woman's mouth. Then she began to move about. She said that she had had a long sleep. She said, "Don't worry they will be back tomorrow. They have had good luck and are bringing lots of game. I just saw them sitting by their fire eating supper." The next day the hunters appeared with an abundance of game of all sorts.

[1] Written by Katie Mitchell (1910).

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